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Genscher makes lone bid to keep detente alive

Bonn Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher has had talks with the So... Foreign Minister, Andrei Gromyko, ... Vienna.

The aim of the meeting was to try and ...ep East-West detente alive. It was a ...ll order.

Genscher spoke to the Bundestag be...re leaving for his talks. He reiterated ...e Federal Republic's loyalty to Nato.

But he also included some friendly ...marks addressed to the Soviet Union. ...his gave his Vienna visit the appearan... of being a lone venture in *Ostpolitik*.

This was not a case of a restless ally ...hafing at the bit. But something needed ...o be done to break the East-West pat...rn of events.

Was there anything to be gained? Or ...an ice-age in world affairs now inevi...ble?

Moscow has felt itself being increa...ngly driven into a corner since the Ko...

IN THIS ISSUE

...n airliner was shot down. So Bonn ...uld be unrealistic to expect too much ...m the meeting.

Disarmament may be under discus...on at more conference tables than ever ...ore, but the Soviet Union has yet to ...ke any substantial move toward Wes...n compromise proposals on funda...ntal security policy issues.

Instead, it is inundating the Federal ...public with a wave of propaganda ...inst missile modernisation. This ...ght lead to the assumption that Mos...w has already thrown in the towel at ...neva.

The latest Warsaw Pact declaration ...s not, on first scrutiny, seem to have ...nged matters much. The note of mo...ation does not conceal the cloven ...f.

The East Bloc virtually insists on the ...st abandoning the Nato missiles de...on before Moscow agrees to carry on ...otiating in Geneva.

Greece had earlier put forward similar ...oposals, springing an unpleasant sur...se on fellow-members of Nato.

The Federal Republic is proverbially insecure in its position at the eye of the needle in the East-West conflict, and not only the East is to blame.

It is almost an irony of Atlantic fate that the lavish celebrations to mark the tricentennial of German immigration have opened the eyes of visitors from the Federal Republic to the fact that German-American ties vary strongly in accordance with the overall political atmosphere.

There was neither discord nor open clashes, but Herr Genscher noticed during his talks in Washington where the current gaps between Bonn and Washington remain to be bridged.

The Social and Free Democratic coalition was berated by the Opposition for years when it was in power in Bonn.

It was accused of wanting to decouple Germany from America, of promoting neutralism and Finlandisation.

Now the Christian Democrats have been returned to power in Bonn they have been quickly obliged to realise what a difficult ally the United States can be.

In the unstable state world affairs are now in, the burdens on the alliance tend to be imposed from the other side of the Atlantic: from America.

The strict and, to put it mildly, ego-

Continued on page 2



Briefing encounter

Bonn Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher (centre) in Bonn with Paul Nitze (left) and Kenneth Adelman. Nitze is chief American negotiator at the INF arms negotiations in Geneva and Adelman is head of the American arms control and disarmament agency. The meeting was to brief Genscher about the Geneva talks.

Signs are that Kremlin wants to put the West to the test

The Soviet Foreign Minister, Mr Gromyko, spent more than 10 hours over two days discussing international disarmament problems and East-West ties with Bonn Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher in Vienna. No-one was expecting their talks to reach any specific conclusion. Herr Genscher said beforehand it would be a mistake to exaggerate hopes. He saw his role as less that of an interpreter or a mediator than as a contribution toward final opinion-making in Communist and Western capitals. He was well briefed by the United States on progress at the Geneva disarmament talks with the Russians. On neutral ground, in Vienna, he was able to learn at first hand, and possibly have explained in detail, the Warsaw Pact states' viewpoint. There are many indications that the Kremlin is determined to put the West, particularly Bonn, to the test. That would mean, for the time being, no substantial results at the Geneva talks. We would then have to wait and see how the Bonn government comes out of the clash of viewpoints and war of nerves with the Opposition and the peace movement.

Will Bonn succeed in getting the new missiles, even a strictly limited initial number, stationed in Germany without shaking the democratic system of government to the foundations?

As soon as the outcome of this clash is clear, two Soviet responses seem likely to be inevitable.

If Nato missile modernisation gets under way and it is clear that Bonn has no intention of allowing its membership of the Atlantic defence and security system to be called into question, the Kremlin will be prepared to seriously discuss further disarmament moves.

Beforehand, the Soviet Union is sure to have demonstratively, but to a limited extent, have reinforced its own missile potential near the intra-German border.

If, on the contrary, the deployment of new US missiles in the Federal Republic proves impossible or is postponed, Moscow will be able to hope that in the long term German-American relations will grow totally estranged.

Bonn would then hopefully withdraw from Nato and isolate itself.

The Soviet response would then be to employ a strategy for which preparations are already being made. Moscow would do its utmost to encourage neutralisation.

Franz Fegeler

(Nordwest Zeitung, 17 October 1983)



Anti-missile protest

A demonstrator is carried away at Bremerhaven during a demonstration against the deployment of Nato missiles in West Germany. About 100 people were removed from near an American barracks. Lorries were forced to queue as demonstrators blocked access to the north German port. Bremerhaven was the first of a series of rallies, protests and vigils planned for various parts of the Federal Republic. (See page 4.)

(Photos: dpa)

When Chancellor Kohl was asked whether German foreign policy would continue as before or change, he took the edge out of the question.

Every new government, he said, had to work with the situation that existed when it took office. Changes could only be brought about in the long term.

He thus accepted a principle that has been a hallmark of Bonn's foreign policy in particular ever since the Federal Republic of Germany was founded.

There were no fundamental changes in 1969 either, which was the previous time power had changed hands in Bonn.

There were furious disputes over *Ostpolitik* in the years that followed, but they tended to hide from view the fact that in principle Bonn remained firmly tied to the West.

The Federal Republic did not drift off in the direction of the East Bloc and could hardly have done so. Its treaty ties with the West and countless *faits accomplis* made any such idea impossible. As though it had learnt this lesson the government of Helmut Kohl and Hans-Dietrich Genscher has likewise attuned itself to a policy of accepting *faits accomplis* over the past year.

The disputes that marked the present Bonn coalition's early days seem so long past that they might never have taken place.

Take the clash over whether the new coalition should continue its predecessor's *Ostpolitik*. It no longer has a leg to stand on now Franz Josef Strauss has toured Eastern Europe and been associated with a billion-deutschemark loan to East Berlin.

There is no longer any mention, at least aloud, of the need for a change in relations with the Third World in general and Africa in particular.

This could be explained in terms of the pragmatic outlook of conservatives, who are not given to ideological fixations. It is, indeed, a popular interpretation.

But it is more to the point to realise that there are constant factors in foreign affairs that allow no government to undertake abrupt changes except at the price of grave disadvantages.

Every Bonn government is embedded in a web of historically accrued relationships that grows steadily more intricately woven.

This web is suspended from two mainstays. One is the Federal Republic's security policy significance, the other its economic policy significance.

In security policy it is hard to envisage any change at all in the foreseeable future. In economic policy the possibility cannot be entirely ruled out.

The Federal Republic today, with a track record spanning 34 years, seems so self-evident it is worth while recalling the security policy prerequisites.

It is enough to study the origins of the German Treaty signed in 1952 and ratified in 1955 to realise that the Federal Republic of Germany owes its existence to a foreign policy decision of principle.



It can then be seen how the Federal Republic joined the West and gradually found its feet, throwing away its crutches and freeing itself from the arms of its midwives.

Not entirely, of course. Allied rights still apply, as in the context of the treaty governing troops stationed in the Federal Republic or of the Four-Power Berlin Agreement.

But the feature that weighs most heavily is the proviso, accepted on 5 May 1955, the day on which the country gained full sovereignty, that sovereignty was linked to joining Nato.

■ FOREIGN AFFAIRS

Bonn policies built round two main pillars

Christ und Welt
Rheinischer Merkur

Pulling out of Nato, as suggested by Oskar Lafontaine, the SPD mayor of Saarbrücken, in the context of the missile debate, would deprive the Federal Republic of its very foundation.

Its entire raison d'être, its entire foreign policy self-concept, would have been eliminated.

Basically, all other strands of the foreign policy web are linked with this first knot. The Social and Free Democratic coalition's *Ostpolitik* would not have been possible had it not been for Bonn's firm ties with the West, as has often been noted.

Accession to the United Nations in 1973, a move that made it much easier for the Federal Republic to play an active part in world affairs, likewise derives from this web of reference points.

The Federal Republic, individually though it may argue on specific issues, has always seen itself as part of the Western world, a world centred on Washington.

Plans for neutralism, variously considered, have never really stood the slightest chance of being put into practice.

Bonn's foreign policy ramifications are so far-reaching, with so many ties having been established, for instance, by virtue of membership of the many UN organisations and other international bodies, that it seems absurd to envisage any one of them being severed.

One need only call to mind the resignation of Germany from the League of Nations in 1933 by comparison to appreciate the complexity of the present-day situation.

At times it is none too easy to distinguish which factor weighs more heavily: the security policy or the economic policy one.

They tend to interlock, intersect and be superimposed on each other. Up to a point that was the case 30 years ago. Joining the EEC had both an economic and a more generally political aspect.

The Federal Republic has since emerged as the moving spirit of European integration, as has been clearly apparent in the membership talks of successive newcomers.

Bonn's view has invariably been decisive, whether in connection with the accession of Britain, Ireland and Denmark in 1973 or Greek membership some years later or, at present, the prospective membership of Spain and Portugal.

This is a weight that did not come the Federal Republic's way automatically, as in the case of security policy. It was not a matter of a favourable situation or circumstances; it was earned the hard way.

The internal consolidation of the state was brought about by an economy constantly developing by means of continual modernisation and diversification and, above all, by virtue of its readiness for social compromise.

This development was brought about deliberately and was responsible for the importance the Federal Republic of Germany was to attain.

It soon became apparent, both in Europe and further afield. In the Third World the Federal Republic soon made its mark by means of the nature and extent of its development aid.

Keywords such as Unctad, Gatt and FAO are some indication of the dimensions in which Bonn's foreign policy is currently conducted.

In a word, it may fairly be sa[id] there is not a spot on the globe the interests of the Federal Rep[ublic] not involved in one way or anoth[er].

Two recent projects make th[e] national interface particularly [...] One is the succession of Unctad [confe]rences, the other the CSCE, or He[lsinki] process.

The Unctad gatherings ma[y,] taken on their own, have imme[...] sults, but as a whole and by [...] the outlook to which they testify document the sense of respo[nsibility] felt by the countries that attend.

The Federal Republic is a [...] participant and, to take but one [exam]ple, a reorganisation of the inte[rnatio]nal monetary system is incon[ceivable] should Bonn choose not to take [part] regardless how highly the d[...] rated.

The CSCE and Helsinki revie[w con]ference marathon entails more th[an se]curity and cooperation in Europ[e by] virtue of the participation of bot[h su]perpowers.

It may not have mended the r[ift bet]ween East and West but it has, a[s one] participant put it, at least dra[wn up] (and continues to draw up) "the [...] of a European security system."

Bonn Foreign Minister Hans-Di[etrich] Genscher has always taken a keen [inter]est in the CSCE process.

Other aspects of 1970s polic[y may] have declined in importance, but [Herr] Genscher has repeatedly cite[d the] CSCE as an instance of the princ[iple of] continuity in foreign policy.

If Europe were to be even more [deep]ly divided, he has consistently s[aid,] the Germany would stand to lose [...]

In the wake of the Helsinki [review] conference in Madrid there will [...] be a conference on disarmament [in Eu]rope that is due to start in Stoc[kholm] next January; special conferences [will] be held until 1986.

The Federal Republic has pro[ved a] progressive and constructive fo[rce in] the CSCE process. In its own inte[rests it] will continue to play this part.

Gerhard von Gl[...]

(Rheinischer Merkur/Christ u[nd Welt,] 7 Octo[ber 1983])

Continued from page 1

centric economic policy pursued by the United States prompted even the proverbially friendly Bonn President, Karl Carstens, to gently raise the issue in his speech to Congress.

Herr Carstens' remarks were greeted with stony silence. Herr Genscher's brief was to clearly state the interests of the European Community too — in addition to his constant warnings against a trade war with the East.

A point that bares the nerve of our political interests, however, is that America has shut the door to Russia more firmly than for a long time.

Anyone can imagine what our reactions would be if Soviet missiles had shot down an airliner with 60 Germans on board.

But the sale of tee-shirts in Washington with the slogan Stop the Soviets testifies to a fundamental current that could well strike fear, into us on the border between East and West.

Transposed to the political level, it looks as though some people in Washington look on the shooting-down of the Korean airliner as confirming their instinctive judgement that talks cannot reliably be held with the Soviet Union on international security.

At present there is very little evidence of the pragmatic approach to *Ostpolitik* the Reagan administration seemed finally to have arrived at after an unconscionably long period of acclimatisation.

And there is no reason whatever for assuming as a matter of course that the anti-Soviet view which now prevails in the United States will be either alleviated or reversed in 1984, an election year.

The most serious aspect for Bonn and other European countries is the effect this trend may have on Soviet behaviour.

George F. Kennan, the US expert on the East, is afraid Moscow might now view the United States as an arch-enemy and behave in an even more unpredictable manner.

If Mr Kennan is right there is indeed scant hope of a resumption soon of the dialogue between the superpowers.

In this state of affairs Bonn, personified mainly by Foreign Minister Genscher, is as keen on detente as the Brandt and Schmidt governments were in their *Ostpolitik* heydays.

Herr Genscher's offer of cooperation with Moscow to a hitherto unspecified extent, his "message of good will to the Soviet Union," arises from the need to keep the door open at least a chink.

Even if it is too late to achieve results at the Geneva missile talks, the beginnings of missile modernisation must not be allowed to mark the end of all East-West ties.

Yet Bonn knows full well tha[t Mos]cow is not going to offer it political [pre]sents for its own sake. Detente [only] works when both superpowers w[ant it] to. It would be succumbing to a mo[men]tary illusion to believe anything else.

What Mr Gromyko had to sa[y in] Vienna thus primarily indicated wh[ether] Moscow imagined it might still be [able] to do business with Washington, and [on] what basis.

If the Vienna talks held forth as [much] as the merest ray of hope Bonn w[ould] have to bring its influence to bear [on] both sides without delay to ensure [that] actions follow words.

Thomas M[...]

(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, 15 October [1983])

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■ WORLD AFFAIRS

Kohl keeps his balance in Middle East

It is too early to say Bonn Chancellor Helmut Kohl's tour of the Middle East was a total success merely because nothing major went wrong.

National and international response has been positive.

The Chancellor succeeded for the time being in ending debate on the controversial issue of Leopard tanks for Saudi Arabia.

He did this by saying no, the deal was not to ahead. But it was a move to be greeted with mixed feelings because Herr Kohl made questionable sacrifices in saying no.

A long-term assessment can clearly not be made yet.

It was not expected that his visit to Jordan, Egypt and Saudi Arabia would prompt major steps toward a settlement of conflicts in the Middle East.

The Arab countries are justifiably worried that America might, in a pre-election period, shelve US initiatives in the Middle East.

That is why they would like to see Europe, including the Federal Republic of Germany, take over as prime movers in bids to mediate.

But it is asking too much of Bonn when everyone knows no country must take greater care than the Federal Republic to avoid taking sides in the Middle East and to strike a balance in relations with Israel and the Arab world.

A country with so little leeway cannot become a moving force regardless what views King Hussein may have on European initiatives.

The only role open to Bonn is the modest but sound one of encouraging the United States to keep up its Middle East initiative.

It must lend Washington any support it can and encourage America in conjunction with its partners in Europe.

Herr Kohl kept his balance in the Middle East, abiding by the policy pursued by his predecessor Helmut Schmidt. Charming though his Arab hosts were, he didn't wobble for a moment.

At every stage of his journey he called both for recognition of Israel and for the abandonment of Israeli settlement policies in the occupied West Bank.

He also maintained continuity by supporting the Palestinians' right to self-determination even though that was not a major issue raised by his hosts.

Will the Chancellor's tight-rope walk be given justice in Israel? Probably not, given his comments on settlement policy, military cooperation with Saudi Arabia and the arms and equipment Bonn is willing to export.

Herr Kohl prides himself on having refused to allow the export of the Leopard Mk 2 tank to Saudi Arabia without causing serious damage to relations between Bonn and Riyadh.

This pride is understandable, but relief at having summoned the courage to say no does not justify referring to the move as a famous victory.

That is to presuppose that all the Chancellor could hope to accomplish was to prevent the worst from happening, which is far from having been the case.

The fundamental problem of arms exports to non-Nato countries, especially to hot spots such as the Middle East, remains unsolved.

It might even have worsened because Bonn and Riyadh have now agreed in writing to include defence issues in their cooperation.

In the final analysis it matters little which weapon systems are supplied to Saudi Arabia, whether for instance they are the Gepard (Cheeta) anti-aircraft tank or the Roland anti-aircraft missile.

A more far-reaching issue arises. It is whether Herr Kohl might not, by taking this step, have opened floodgates and encouraged German arms exports to a degree with which no-one can be happy.

We can ignore whether the Chancellor was politically in a position to do anything else. The Bonn government would say that he wasn't.

Malaise over military cooperation is not limited to necessary consideration of Israel. Arms exports to Saudi Arabia could set a precedent for the Third World.

Arms are the export Third World countries need least. Besides, Bonn would find itself in trouble arguing which country should be sold which weapons. The outcome could be total confusion.

All political parties in Bonn, including the CDU/CSU, have fundamental misgivings, but there are also individual critical aspects.

Is the Gepard tank still a defensive weapon when used to back up an attack and to perform anti-aircraft duties in occupied territory?

The distinction between attacking and defensive weapons is dubious in any case and clearly apparent in Saudi Arabia's case.

The Federal Republic's own Leopard tanks are designed for forward defence, so Bonn could only really refuse to sell them to Riyadh if the Saudis were alleged to have other intentions.

Arms exports are risky inasmuch as there can be no guarantee that systems will remain in the country to which they are exported. They could be re-exported.

And if Bonn is to export to Saudi Arabia an advanced tank like the Gepard it logically must provide the Saudi armed forces with instructors too. Ought German soldiers to be instructing Arab troops? Whatever the answer, this is only one of a number of alarming question that arise.

But despite all misgivings Herr Kohl must be allowed not to have made his move impetuously or carelessly. He will have had serious reasons.

One may have been that the Saudis felt the Schmidt government had given them a definite assurance on the Leopard tank.

The Chancellor sensibly decided not to make political capital out of this point. That surely is a laudable aspect of what, al in all, was a useful tour.

Heinz-Joachim Melder

(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, 13 October 1983)

PUSSY CAT
LEOPARD 2

Now, do you think we can sell it to them?

(Cartoon: Haitzinger/Nordwest Zeitung)

Warplanes: new X in the oil equation

Supplies of oil from the Middle East are under threat again as a result of the delivery of five French Super-Etendard fighters plus Exocet missiles to Iraq.

Iran, at war with Iraq, has threatened to block the Strait of Hormuz. All tankers have to pass through the strait to get out of the Persian Gulf.

In three years of war against Iraq the ayatollahs have retained the initiative, and the world has grown accustomed to their unusual moves.

They might be capable of sending out a tanker to straddle the strait and then simply sinking it. Would that trigger an oil crisis?

Last year 2.8 billion tonnes of oil and gas, including 2.1 billion for the West, was produced worldwide, but only about 600 million tonnes or so came from the Gulf.

This figure includes the 150 million tonnes exported by Iran and Iraq. In 1980 about 950 million of a total 3.1 billion tonnes came from the Gulf region.

So the world's dependence on the Middle East as a petroleum exporter has declined, although the area still accounts for nearly a third of oil output bound for the West.

How would the West react to an interruption in shipments from the Gulf? In 1979, at the time of the Iranian revolution, a five-per-cent shortfall in world output sent oil prices soaring by over 70 per cent.

The result was a balance-of-payments crisis in the West. But the situation has since changed for the better from the viewpoint of the industrialised countries.

Most petroleum-exporting countries are in financial difficulty because of the decline in oil consumption.

The oil countries' ambitious investment programmes necessitate regular high revenues and leave them with very little room to manoeuvre.

The fall in the market price of oil resulting from supply exceeding demand has wrought havoc with their long-term plans.

So oil exporters such as Nigeria, Mexico, Algeria and Indonesia will be delighted to supply much more oil than at present if there is any interruption in the flow of oil from the Middle East.

Extra oil could also be imported from Libya if Col. Gaddafi could be persuaded to be so obliging. North Sea oil production could also be stepped up to some extent.

This extra would not fully offset a likely shortfall of roughly 400 million tonnes, but the multinationals retain a degree of flexibility.

Their storage tanks are full to the brim. Besides, an armada of supertankers is crusing at a snail's pace on the high seas to save fuel.

A few extra per cent of oil could be gained merely by having these tankers go full throttle.

So it most unlikely that OECD countries would need to use their official oil reserves even if supplies from Saudi Arabia were to be partly hit.

The International Energy Agency, Paris, has instructed all OECD countries to stockpile oil reserves for just such an eventuality.

The price of crude oil is constantly falling. Economies are sluggish. There is still a high potential for economising on oil in the industrialised West.

So there would seem to be a reasonable guarantee that any further bid to blackmail the world by cutting off oil supplies would fail to have the desired effect.

Any country that blockaded the Strait of Mormuz could certainly not count on solidarity from other Opec countries. Opec is more divided than ever.

Iran and Iraq are both Opec members, and both are abjectly dependent on higher oil revenue and oil exports.

All the Opec countries would be sure to offer to supply consumers promptly, reliably and in good time. If need be, they might even trade on unofficial markets.

The Iranians, who are still well informed on the oil trade, are well aware of this and will realise that a blockade of the Persian Gulf would be doomed to prove ineffective.

So they will be wondering very carefully whether they ought to risk provoking intervention by the US Navy, which could well guard the Strait of Hormuz on behalf of America's client state Saudi Arabia.

What prompts France to run such a risk is another matter. The French are owed 40 billion francs by Iraq, which is a great deal of money.

They are afraid they may never see any of it if Iraq loses the Gulf War. So they have decided to redress the military balance between Iraq and Iran.

In doing so they are likely to have contributed toward prolonging a war that has dragged on for more than three years.

The Strait of Hormuz remains a weak link in the chain and the West ought to take precautionary action.

Bernd Hansen

(Deutsches Allgemeines Sonntagsblatt, 16 October 1983)

(Cartoon: Heldemann/Frankfurter Neue Presse)

■ HOME AFFAIRS

Social Democrats' retreat on missiles cracks inter-party security consensus

The Social Democrats are likely to reject the deployment of missiles when they meet at a special national conference next month.

State and district meetings throughout the country have been voting against deployment. This means it is likely to become official Opposition policy.

This retreat from the old policy formed when they were in government is regrettable. It also creates problems.

For a start, it destroys the consensus that has existed between the two main parties for many years. This consensus was needed to strengthen Germany's position within Nato and towards the Soviet Union in a bid to get success at the Geneva arms talks.

Then there is the question of Germany's membership of Nato. The SPD has raised this at the wrong time. It wants to show that there can be no security partnership with Helmut Kohl as Chancellor.

It will have some difficulty doing this. Kohl's position is almost identical with that of his predecessor, Helmut Schmidt. Neither is or was a "missile chancellor."

The fact is the SPD has reneged on Schmidt. Why? It is not entirely clear. Alfons Pawelczyk, and SPD Senator in Hamburg, speaks of an emotional backlash in a party that had to make too many compromises while it was in government.

Professor Karl Kaiser, a party member and foreign affairs expert, says the SPD overlooks the continued necessity of dealing with the Soviet Union on an ideological plane.

The only thing the party was concerned with now was cooperation with the USSR.

Party leader Willy Brandt has come up with another approach. His hopes rest on achieving a majority with the help of the Greens.

The difficulty in pinpointing the reasons for the party's change of stance indicates that there is a leadership problem that existed even before it was thrown out of government in Bonn."

Since the summer of 1981, Helmut Schmidt's only way of making his party toe the line on the Nato missiles decision was to threaten to resign.

Now, Brandt and Egon Bahr say that the party agreed to the decision only out of consideration for Schmidt. This is a somewhat weird argument.

It is doubtful whether Schmidt would have been able to bring Moscow to the Geneva bargaining table in the summer of 1980 without the Nato decision.

If a party considers the decision wrong it can only do this for the reasons Henry Kissinger gave in an interview with the weekly *Der Spiegel:* Nato should have started to deploy the new weapons and then offered negotiations. As things stand, Nato has set itself a deadline by which to succeed.

The Germans brought this deadline on themselves because they wanted deployment only if talks failed. This had been hailed as a new element in arms control policies.

Talks would not have been possible without pressure. And now it was impossible to get rid of this deadline. This would reduce the likelihood of success in Geneva still further and deal a severe blow to arms control. The Alliance would be strained to breaking point and the Soviets' fearmongering would stop the deployment without any concession on their part, says Kissinger.

The SPD leadership cannot ignore these arguments. Yet it gives the impression that it supports all the wrong reasons against the missiles decision.

Anybody who acts as if America had gone back on its promise by its non-ratification of Salt II ignores Af[...] People who now already [...] Americans for a possible failu[re ...] Geneva talks are uninformed.

Anybody who believes that a [...]ral waiving of new missiles wo[uld ...] increase the Soviet nuclear thre[at ...]dently ignores what is happe[ning in] West Germany.

The demand for an inclusion [of] French and British nuclear sy[stems is] also misleading. They can neither [be fi]gured on one-for-one basis or [...] total waiving of American missiles.

If the deployment were waived [there] would still be the question of s[...] the Alliance or becoming neutral[...]se the Americans would soon c[...] withdrawing their troops altogether.

If détente is to be revived, it is [neces]sary to help bring about an arms c[ontrol] breakthrough and secure a say in [...]

And if one strives for a new r[ole wi]thin the Alliance one must stre[ngthen] this Alliance further.

Even if there is an interim solu[tion in] Geneva, major questions would re[main:] what would be the shape of a fu[ture ba]lance of power? What would be [the] function of the British and the Fr[ench?] And what would be the position [of a] non-nuclear country like West Ger[many] that is unlikely to come to terms [with] having nuclear weapons stationed o[n its] territory without a say about their [use?]

If the Geneva talks fail and the [Al]liance crumbles, these issues will g[et out] of control as would, in all likel[ihood,] the domestic scene in Germany.

The SPD carries a heavy respo[nsibili]ty.

Dieter Schr[...]

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 11 Octo[ber 1983])

Protests against deployment likely to achieve little

Protests against missile deployment in the Federal Republic have begun. One series of huge demonstrations alone is expected to attract more than a million.

But they are likely to achieve little.

The first of the missiles will be installed towards the end of the year unless there is a last minute breakthrough in the Geneva arms control talks. But there is nothing to indicate a breakthrough at the moment.

Will the tide of protest collapse like the Ban the Bomb campaign in 1958 or the extra-parliamentary opposition movement ten years later? Probably not.

There is no way back to the days when a handful of politicians who knew their business and a few government experts hammered out the nation's defence policy among themselves.

The peace movement had changed Germany's security policy scene even if it fails to achieve immediate goals.

One peace movement spokesman, Volkmar Deile, of *Aktion Sühnezeichen*, says: No West European government is likely to make another nuclear arms buildup decision in the near future. Security policy has been democratised.

In the face of this, the government urges people to stand their ground for the sake of credibility at home and abroad. The Chancellor's appeals for harmony and Heiner Geissler villfies opponents in a bid to strengthen the government's following and push the opposition into a corner. And there is public relations work like the new White Paper on defence.

Effects of the political fallout from deployment can be cushioned by maximising the *Ostpolitik* angle. An example of this is the meeting between Bonn Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher and Moscow's Andrei Gromyko in Vienna.

This can make it easier for the government to show that it has done everything to make headway in East-West relations.

But it has now become obvious that the traditional political instruments can be useful only if Germany's basic security needs are uncontested.

Those days are long gone. The controversy over the deployment is only a symptom of a deep-rooted difference of views: the views of those for whom security rests with America's nuclear shield and those for whom this very shield is the root of insecurity.

This dissension at home reduces the predictability of German policy abroad.

Until the end of the 1980s, the effectiveness of Germany's security policy will depend on whether it can once more be backed by a solid majority.

This means that the government must deal with the fundamental criticism of the missile opponents.

But neither the Kohl-Genscher government nor the Social-Liberal coalition it replaced has done this.

Merely pointing to the threat from the Soviet SS-20 missiles and the Geneva talks cannot sway the sceptics and opponents.

There is no alternative to the deterrence principle in our nuclear age. But this does not make the strategy free of problems.

Even those who consider deterrence a must need not necessarily approve of a weapons system like the Pershing II — a missile that is fast, accurate and therefore unnecessarily provocative.

The same goes for the arsenal of tactical nuclear weapons (6,000 in Western Europe, 4,000 of them in West Germany) that has been amassed willy[-nilly] over the past 20 years.

The weeding out of 1,000-2,000 [war]heads which Nato is about to de[cide is] only a long overdue first step.

There is also no alternative to [West] Germany's military integration in N[ato.] But this need not boil down to infle[xibi]lity. It might be possible, and even p[refe]rable, for Bonn to have an unequ[ivocal] say in America's decision on the us[e of] nuclear missiles in West Germany. [This] is particularly so in view of Ame[rica's] problematic nuclear doctrine.

Such a policy review would not [win over] the hard core of German pacifists [and] neutralists. But it could sway those [who] demonstrate or sympathise with [de]monstrators out of fear and worry [...] might help them accept the Alliance [and] the deterrence principle as a tolera[ble] contribution towards security.

Jürgen Hubermas describes civil d[iso]bedience as the "acid test of German [...] maturity."

The missile controversy is also an [acid] test: can Germany once more lea[rn to] talk about peace and the best way [of] preserving it in a manner that will [do] justice to both the facts and the views [of] others?

This is the true challenge of the [au]tumn.

It would therefore be disastrous if [the] protests turned violent and the p[olice] clubbed demonstrators something w[hich] many extremists are probably ho[ping] will happen.

If this happens, the chance of q[uickly win]ning the controversy would be lost for [a] long time.

Christoph Bertram

(Die Zeit, 14 October 1983)

■ PERSPECTIVE

Germany, USA: reconciling change and continuity

Adenauer disliked Kennedy. Kiesinger and Erhard got on well with [Joh]nson. Brandt and Nixon ushered in [an] era of German-American harmony. Helmut Schmidt had trouble with [Ji]mmy Carter but none with Ronald [Re]agan. How has Helmut Kohl managed?

Have relations between the Federal [Re]public of Germany and the United [St]ates changed or improved since the [en]d of the Social and Free Democratic [co]alition in Bonn?

The question ought first to be examined independently of personalities. As the above list shows, getting on well [is] not a matter of Christian Democrat [a]nd Republican or Social Democrat [a]nd Democrat. Party-political affiliations don't seem to matter much. The [c]hemistry of personal attributes and characteristics does.

Schmidt and Carter, for instance, were clearly not very compatible where this kind of chemistry is concerned.

After decades of reporting from the United States I have come to the conclusion that two main factors influence our relations with the Americans.

They are the foreign policy interests that govern the lines the two governments take and the effect domestic developments have on foreign policy.

Foreign policy interests have remained strikingly steady since the Federal Republic of Germany came into being in 1949, again for two main reasons:

First, the East-West clash in the wake of the Second World War led to the division of Germany, the emergence of the Federal Republic and the ties that to this day link us with the United States.

Second, nuclear weapons have so far effectively prevented a war between the United States and the Soviet Union. They for the most part will continue to guarantee the status quo in Europe.

They will do, that is, assuming that no far-reaching and complete change in US-Soviet relations intervenes.

The East-West clash and the deterrent make up the framework of world affairs within which whatever turn ties between Bonn and Washington take must fit, regardless whether Carter or Reagan is President or Schmidt or Kohl Chancellor.

Neither in America nor in this country have domestic developments yet called the alliance between them into question.

They have, however, changed it in content, and that quite substantially.

Where the Federal Republic is concerned, all that needs mentioning here [is] that its economic potential has considerably boosted its self-assurance.

Yet the younger generation, or part of [it,] is critical of America, just as unemployment and stagnation influence relations with the United States, and not, at times, for the better.

A far more dangerous trend in connection with German-American cooperation, much more so than political or military problems, has been and continues to be the decline of the United States as the world's leading economic power.

That is a trend which has confronted Helmut Kohl as Bonn Chancellor just as it confronted Helmut Schmidt, his predecessor.

In a nutshell, the decline of America can be accounted for by saying that the United States won't listen to reason and insists on living beyond its means.

President Johnson was not in a position to pay for both Vietnam and his Great Society at the same time. President Reagan can't simultaneously plan to plough $1,000bn into armaments and cut taxation.

Yet the Americans persist in imagining they can get away with such sins against the facts of economic life, with consequences that we have all seen happen before.

Above all else it is the staggering US government debt and the high interest rates it has triggered that have made America a major factor for uncertainty in the eyes of its allies.

Germany with its hard currency has been particularly hard-hit by an undervalued dollar and expansionary US monetary policy in the past.

The German economy is currently hardhit by an overvalued dollar and finding it difficult to stage an economic recovery.

This is partly because higher domestic interest rates are impeding necessary investment, while indispensable imports, such as oil, have to be paid for in overvalued dollars.

Fundamental changes in US society are proving no less disadvantageous for the Federal Republic of Germany.

America's Atlantic generation has passed away and the centre of power has shifted from the East coast to the West and South.

One result has been that President Carter came to power from Georgia and President Reagan from California, and both men and their entourages aimed to govern America entirely differently.

There were going to be sweeping changes from the way the US govern-

Christ und Welt
Rheinischer Merkur

ment had been run by the Washington Establishment.

As a result, only a handful of people who know Europe or Germany are still at the White House, the State Department and the Pentagon.

US foreign policy has grown more ideologically-tinged, albeit for domestic reasons. Mr Reagan's populist neo-conservatism is, moreover, nationalist and, up to a point, isolationist in outlook.

It would be unrealistic to take an isolated view of ties between Bonn and Washington and ignore Bonn's ties with the European Community and America's worldwide commitments.

This is a classic case of far-reaching interdependence, or reciprocal dependence. Helmut Kohl sees the position no differently than Helmut Schmidt did, and the views of Hans-Dietrich Genscher, as Foreign Minister to both, are unchanged.

Chancellor Kohl has been better able to alleviate certain irritations in Washington because he, unlike Herr Schmidt, can be sure his party, the Christian Democrats, are solidly behind him. Besides, Dr Kohl has no intention of berating the Americans.

He instinctively is more mindful of American sensitivities in respect of European arrogance (whether intentional or merely suspected).

So the present Chancellor is given more of a hearing when he, as a loyal friend of America's, says with increasing clarity that the US must sort out its budget problems.

In financial and trade policy, he tells the Americans, they ought to give more thought to their alliance partners.

And when it comes to arms agreements with the Russians, they must make sure of terms that ensure a balance of power at as low a level of armament as possible so as to ease the senseless burden of arms spending.

Continuity was a keyword when the Christian Democrats took over in Bonn a year ago. But how can a change be reconciled with continuity?

Is it basically just a matter of different people pursuing more or less the same policies? Not in every sector, that's for sure, but arguably so in foreign policy, certainly policy toward the United States.

But to be fair it must be added that Helmut Kohl is pursuing his predecessor's policy with a continuity Herr Schmidt would no longer have been in a position to maintain.

The dual-track Nato decision on talks and missiles was virtually Helmut Schmidt's brainchild, but the Social Democrats have undermined it and a majority of them are now practically opposed to it.

Politics and the weather have much in common. What matters is the climate in which a political trend either flourishes or wilts.

Ronald Reagan may be a charming man but his policy has brought about a decided chill in the climate of East-West ties.

A historical parallel may be of interest here, though with the boot on the other foot.

What Adenauer accused Kennedy of, Reagan is now saying about his European allies: that they are too complaisant and willing to negotiate with Moscow.

In the early 1960s President Kennedy sought to come to terms with the other nuclear and superpower, largely on account of Berlin and despite the Cuban crisis.

Eisenhower had tried a similar approach at Geneva in 1955. Johnson, Nixon, Ford and Carter were to follow suit.

Until Mr Reagan took over in the Oval Office the rule was that the Americans first had to drag the Germans in the direction of detente.

(Cartoon: Hanel/Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung)

Then, in the 1970s, although a start had undeniably been made in the late 1960s by the Grand Coalition of Kiesinger and Brandt in Bonn, America and Germany were more or less level-pegging in aiming at peace partnership with the Russians.

This was the state of affairs until after Helsinki. Then the Russians occupied Afghanistan, punished dissidents like Andrei Sakharov and began their SS-20 build-up.

The pendulum began to swing the other way. Long before Mr Reagan moved to the White House Jimmy Carter, a Democrat, boycotted the Moscow Olympics and warned the Russians to keep their hands off the Gulf.

America was deeply humiliated by Iran over the US embassy hostages in Tehran. Gigantic America was incapable of dealing with dwarfs like Khomeini, Gaddafi and Castro.

The United States had Central America in uproar on its own back door.

This combination ensured President Reagan of the support of a broad majority of the US public and a hesitant and much smaller Congressional majority for his militant approach.

He also made a point of being tougher with his allies, which include us.

The economy, Germany's 1920s Foreign Minister Walter Rathenau wisely foresaw decades ago, is our destiny.

The destiny of transatlantic ties and German-American cooperation is now largely dependent on dealing successfully with a serious international economic crisis.

That too is a task Helmut Kohl has inherited from his predecessor. So there has been no dramatic change in German-American relations since we have had another Chancellor (but the same Foreign Minister) in Bonn.

The climate has improved, however, or arguably, to put it a little more sceptically, public relations work on both sides.

Rhetoric on both sides of the Atlantic is certainly more cordial than it has been for long, and the tricentennial anniversary of German immigration to North America came as a blessing and a public relations godsend at just the right time.

The continuity of joint problems and tasks is certainly a compelling reason for the two countries to stay together.

Thilo Koch

(Rheinischer Merkur/Christ und Welt, 7 October 1983)

■ THE WORKFORCE

Germany's biggest union pushes for 35-hour week

Allgemeine Zeitung

Germany's largest trade union, the metalworkers' IG Metall, is campaigning for the working week to be reduced from 40 hours to 35 without pay cuts.

Because of IG Metall's size (2.5m members) and influence, the campaign is likely to have widespread reverberations if it is successful.

The campaign will be lead by Hans Mayr. He was elected at the union's annual congress in Munich to succeed Eugen Loderer as chief. Loderer is retiring after 11 years in the post.

However, Herr Mayr is likely to step down in three years because he then will be 65, and under the union's unwritten rules, that is retirement age for the post.

Waiting in the wings will then be the young (46) and ambitious Franz Steinkühler, head of the Stuttgart region, who was elected deputy leader at Munich. Steinkühler is regarded as more militant than either Mayr or Loderer.

This year IG Metall finds itself in confrontation with the metal industries. Business has generally improved, but the union says the industry is making "an all-out attack on our achievements."

So the first task of the new leadership is to rally the membership.

Crises in such sectors as electrical engineering and steel has over the years caused growing unemployment and membership has dropped more than 100,000 since 1979.

There were 370,000 metalworkers unemployed at the end of September says the Federal labour office.

If the union manages to get grassroots support for the 35-hour week without pay cuts, the ripples could have a wide-ranging social upshot.

Eugen Loderer called the introduction of the 40-hour work week the "achievement of the century."

National executive member Hans Janssen, in charge of collective bargaining, said the 35-hour week dispute would be the most serious of the post-war era.

The campaign is meant to combat unemployment but the employers fear increased costs will lead to more bankruptcies and layoffs.

Some of the more than 900 motions put forward in Munich dealt with peace and disarmament.

The Nuremberg region has called on members of protest against deployment in Germany of new US missiles by making use of their right to resistance under Article 20 of the Constitution. This would mean organising a general strike.

In addition, the national executive has been urged to take all legal steps to clarify the constitutionality of deploying mass destruction weapons in this country.

These motions are being channelled towards a resolution against the deployment part of the two-track Nato decision.

But the national executive rejects the idea of a strike for political reasons. Instead, it wants to use the traditional Anti-War Day more emphatically than before to drive home to the public that the unions' aims are directed at peace and detente.

Robert Luchs

(Allgemeine Zeitung Mainz, 12 October 1983)



The big three at IG Metall ... from left, the retiring chairman, Eugen Loderer, new deputy, Franz Steinkühler, and the new chairman, Hans Mayr, at the conference in Munich.

Government is accused of seeking confrontation

The government was seeking confrontation, not consensus, the retiring head of the metalworkers' union, Eugen Loderer, says.

He told the annual congress of IG Metall, which had 2.5m members, that the willingness of people to make sacrifices had turned into a one-sided imposition of sacrifices on the workers.

Bonn had done nothing to rescue the troubled steel and ship-building industries.

Loderer warned against attempts to do away with social achievements such as worker's co-determination.

He said: "Those who launch such a drive will trigger a head-on collision. We respect political majorities but will not tolerate politicians' continuous disregard for our interests."

Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger

He criticised Bonn's decision to [...]tructure the Federally owned Sal[...] Group. This would do away with [...]termination.

The illusion of an economic [...] created during the election cam[...] had fizzled.

"The government seems to be [...] least bit interested in reconciling the [...]terests of all concerned," said Lo[...] The government was stubbornly [...]ing to free market principles.

"The longer the government p[...] in doing nothing to overcome the [...]ployment crisis the more burden[...] be imposed on the work force," he [...]

Common interests and ideologi[...] ween industry and a conservativ[...] vernment had existed before, in the [...]pression of the 1930s.

Like then, the employers now [...] demanded a reduction of produ[...] costs: "They short-sightedly thi[...] their own profits, forgetting the eco[...]my as a whole."

Loderer reaffirmed the union's [...]tion of a general strike to prevent [...] deployment of US missiles. He [...]tiously criticised one-sided disa[...]ment appeals.

He called on politicians in East [...] West to abandon dogmatism in fa[...] of bold ideas.

The national executive member [...] charge of collective bargaining, H[...] Janssen, accused the employers [...] "openly calling for an authoritarian [...]sis management."

He sharply criticised a statement [...] the manager of the association of [...]ployers in the metal industry to the [...]fect that a strike for a 35-hour [...] week would be illegal.

The union's new chairman, H[...] Mayr, said the union must retain [...] scope of action even in a crisis.

In times of crisis union succe[...] consisted not only of higher pay. Pre[...]venting a step backwards was also [...] success.

Günther Wiedemann

(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, 11 October 1983)

Worker capital participation 'helps firms'

Companies that allow their workers to buy shares in them do better than the national average, says a survey by the Institute for the German Economy (IW) and the society for inner-company cooperation (GIZ).

The survey says that companies benefit because their liquidity is improved and workers benefit because they have the chance to build up capital beyond their pay.

On average, turnover per head is better than the national average, and so is profit ratio.

The study was carried out over four years and included 145 companies that have had a scheme for at least seven years. The total payroll involved was 1.1m.

The study is a follow-up on a 1977 survey of workers' participation in capital.

Based on the 1977 data, the study assumes that some 1,000 companies now practise it.

The most common form is that of silent participation and loans to the company (about one-third each). This is followed by staff shares (21.5 per cent).

The authors, Hans-Günter Guski (IW) and Hans J. Schneider (GIZ), say the charge that these schemes are put into operation in boom times and that only a few successful companies can afford them is wrong.

About half the companies reviewed started schemes during recession. About a quarter began when their own capital investment was below the national average.

IW director Gerhard Fels, quotes one businessman as saying: "I don't let my workers participate because I'm doing well. I'm doing well because I let them participate."

Companies that run schemes have, on average, more invested as a proportion of the balance sheet total than the national average: 31.5 per cent against 20.9.

When schemes are subsidised by the company, the rate of liquidity improves noticeably. In the long run, liquidity depends on how many workers are prepared to leave their money invested beyond the repayment date. Four out of five do.

The 770 participation companies surveyed in 1977 accounted for workers' capital worth DM2.3bn. The 145 companies this year had workers' participation in one form or another of DM5.5bn, averaging DM10,000 per person.

Workers are becoming more willing to join in. In the 1960s, only 27 per cent of eligible workers did. But in the 1970s, more than 60 per cent did.

The report says trade union allegations that this kind of capital participation is directed against them is wrong. It did not weaken their position within the companies.

However, it does concede that workers in small companies running schemes were less inclined to strike than other workers.

Works councils were strengthened, say the authors, because they were given additional rights. Local union representatives, on the other hand, often had difficulty getting their objections across to the workforce.

The study concludes that participation was most efficient in small and medium sized firms, regardless whether the firm subsidised schemes.

The often voiced view that profit-related participation schemes were the most efficient had not stood up to scrutiny.

The authors say that no one model was equally suitable for all companies.

Hans-Willy Bein

(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, 12 October 1983)

TRADE

China, Germany sign deal to protect investment

[...]ny and China have signed an [...]ment designed to protect investment [...]t ventures. Bonn Economic Affairs [...]ter Count Lambsdorff signed the [...]ment in Peking. Items covered in[...] compensation arrangements and [...]fer of capital and profits.

[...] China wants to import technology [...]om Germany, it must pay for it. [...] Economic Affairs Minister Count [...] Lambsdorff made this clear this [...]th in Peking.

He said technology was private pro[...]ty. Transfer of technology was there[...] a private business deal.

The Chinese say they are a develop[...] country and should get help from [...]ealthier nations. This issue is central [...] the question of a New International [...]conomic Order. How are Third World [...]untries to pay for development?

Much know-how remain in private [...]nds and countries such as China [...]ually cannot afford it.

German businessmen in China com[...]in that not only do the Chinese want [...]chnology to be supplied free, but that [...]ey are also not always above board in [...]ir attempts to get it. They use big [...]als as a lure to get studies by Western [...]perts.

They then demand detailed blueprints [...]d production instructions. Sometimes [...]ey ask for competitive products to be [...]amined. Yet often there is no intention [...] conclude any deal at all.

Count Lambsdorff, speaking to the [...]no-German trade committee in Pek[...] mentioned "unjustifiable de[...]ands" by the Chinese.

However, he also said China was [...]ow more prepared to pay for technolo[...] with raw materials than it was.

China is more concerned about Japa[...]se attitudes on technology than Ger[...]n. Chinese officials said the Ja[...]nese were going out of their way to [...]revent any of their know-how from [...]ing transferred. Often, equipment [...]s supplied without usable instruc[...]ons.

Chinese officials told Count Lambsdorff that they did not want China to become dependent on Japan. But German goods, especially industrial equipment, were much more expensive than Japanese.

Count Lambsdorff stressed that joint ventures were the best way of ensuring a continuous flow of technology.

The Chinese have been pushing these ventures since 1979 without much success.

They involve foreign partners being offered equities of up to 50 per cent.

The Chinese company provides cheap labour and favourable production conditions. The foreign partner is expected to supply know-how. Profits are shared.

Some 50 joint ventures have been established in China so far. Only two involve German companies: the Darmstadt-based Wella (a cosmetics factory in Tianjin) and the Maulburg-based Busch KG (vacuum pumps in Shanghai).

Foreign partners usually pin their hopes on the Chinese market — at least in the medium term. The Chinese, want to acquire technology that will enable them to export to South-East Asia and earn foreign exchange.

But German businessmen consider the conditions offered by other Asian countries such as Sri Lanka, South Korea and the Philippines, more favourable and less risky.

The investment protection agreement Count Lambsdorff signed in Peking is intended to reduce the risk factor, which is mostly political.

The main provisions are: German companies are free to transfer profits and withdraw capital (with reciprocity for Chinese ventures in Germany). Compensation in case of expropriation is to be adequate and swift.

The provision on the transfer of capital and/or profits out of China means that the Peking government has to provide foreign exchange.

Arbitration in case of disputes will rest with an international panel.

The only other country that has an investment protection agreement with China is Sweden. But that are is regarded as inadequate.

But the Sino-German agreement will probably be as a model for agreements with France, Japan and the USA.

The agreement, like those between Germany and some 50 developing countries, paves the way for Federal guarantees that would protect German investors from political risks.

But the actual effectiveness of the agreement will depend on political conditions and goodwill.

In any event, the agreement does show that China is willing to accept the capitalist rules of the game.

Count Lambsdorff said that the most important difference between his visit to China three years ago and this one was that Peking had become more pragmatic. Last time, it did not want to discuss concrete projects.

China was now prepared to pay for technology with raw materials and to borrow on world markets on commercial terms. It had not dropped its wish for financial aid.

Peking's Prime Minister Zhou Ziyang told Count Lambsdorff that China would under no circumstances overextend itself like Mexico and Brazil.

Sino-German trade rose markedly in the first seven months of this year after a ten per cent drop in 1982.

The most promising business activities are plant and equipment, exploration with German help for coal and non-ferrous metals, the development of China's chemical industry and nuclear technology.

Germany would welcome and politically support cooperation in the peaceful use of nuclear energy.

Count Lambsdorff said that an agreement was being worked on.

The ratio of manufactured products in China's exports to Germany has risen. The minister stressed that the diversification of China's exports provided a chance for the future.

Helmut Opletal

(Stuttgarter Zeitung, 8 October 1983)

Count Lambsdorff (left) with the Chinese leader Hua Guofeng (extreme right) in Peking. (Photo: dpa)

Deficit with the Saudis heads towards surplus

Saudi Arabia is no longer Germany's main oil supplier. In the first half of [...] year its crude oil exports fell 66 per [...]nt to 3.3 million tons.

This reflects a strong change in the [...]ttern of trade between the two na[...]ons, something that has been overshadowed by the debate over whether the [...]eopard Mk 2 tank should be sold to [...]udi Arabia and by Chancellor Kohl's [...]il to Riyadh.

Saudi Arabia was West Germany's [...]incipal oil supplier in 1982 and the [...]ost important non-European buyer of [...]erman goods after the USA.

In 1982, Germany exported DM8.5bn [...]orth of goods to Saudi Arabia, 25 per [...]nt of its trade with Arab countries.

Saudi Arabia's exports to Germany, [...]imarily crude, amounted to [...]DM10.5bn.

So Germany had a deficit. This year [...]ade will not just go into balance. It [...]ill probably turn into a German sur[...]plus.

Saudi Arabia lost its number one [...]osition as Germany's oil supplier in the first half of 1983. Crude exports fell 66 per cent to 3.3 million tons, putting it in place four behind Britain, Libya and Nigeria.

The dramatic drop reduced Germany's bill for imports from Saudi Arabia (97 per cent accounted for by oil) from DM6bn in the first half of 1982 to DM1.85bn in the corresponding period this year.

Fears that Saudi Arabia would have to drop or postpone projects already on order with German companies have proved unfounded.

German exports fell ten per cent in the first half of this year to DM3.9bn, but this was not more than expected.

Saudi Arabia is in a better position than other Opec countries. It does not have to reduce its rate of economic development due to fluctuating oil revenues.

Estimates put Saudi Arabia's currency reserves and foreign investments at a minimum of $150bn.

It is the avowed aim of the Riyadh government to go ahead with the development of its capital and consumer goods industries. Infrastructure projects have had priority up to now.

This shift of priorities is likely to open a new market for German companies. Until now construction and electrics industries have mainly benefited.

Riyadh wants to step up its cooperation with Germany through joint ventures. There are 55 now in operation.

The Saudi-German Development and Investment Company, founded last year, develops project ideas that are put to German and Saudi Arabian private industries.

Heinz Stüwe

(Die Welt, 8 October 1983)

Plant, chemicals lead Iranian import boom

Iran has again become one of Germany's major trading partners. Germany is buying more crude from Iran and exporting more plant and equipment and chemicals.

Trade dropped off sharply when the Shah was deposed. The West became wary of the regime under the mullahs.

In the first seven months this year, Germany sold more than DM4bn worth of goods to Iran compared to DM1.7bn the year before, an increase of almost 150 per cent.

One reason is a new attitude by the mullahs. Their latest five-year plan gives priority to agriculture and heavy industry.

A German businessman recently in Tehran says Iran desperately needs to catch up. There were many potential customers at the German machinery industry exhibits at the Tehran international fair.

In the first seven months this year, plant and equipment sales to Iran rose 65 per cent to DM680m, the highest comparable figure since the revolution.

Iran has, over the same period, bought DM610m worth of chemicals, more than the DM600m for the whole of 1982.

Iran exports to Germany in the first seven months amounted to DM874m, an increase of 76 per cent.

Main priorities of the five-year plan are agriculture, infrastructure, heavy industry and export growth.

This has led to stepped up exports to Germany, primarily crude.

In the first eight months this year, Germany bought close to 1.5 million tons of Iranian crude, more than twice the quantity of the corresponding period last year.

Iran's exports to Germany amounted to DM874m in the first seven months of 1983, up 76 per cent.

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 10 October 1983)

■ BUSINESS

The man who became top goal scorer for the Bochum Club

DIE WELT

When Berthold Beitz went to join Krupp in 1953, he thought the Bochum Club, the firm's colloquial name, was a soccer club.

Beitz, who has just turned 70, is the director of the supervisory board of Fried. Krupp GmbH, Essen and chairman of the Krupp Foundation, set up to run the organisation after Krupp died.

There is a whiff of vanity when he says he was never an employee of Krupp. But there is no self aggrandisement when he says Krupp has been his life's work.

The former confidant and personal plenipotentiary of the late Alfred Krupp von Bohlen und Halbach is today the empire's ruler and executor of Krupp's will.

At Krupp's graveside in 1967 he characterised his "friend and hero," saying: "His life was ruled by the dictates of duty and service to his company."

So is Beitz's. He is a fascinating blend of intuition and businesslike matter-of-factness.

"You cannot learn to be a manager. You've either got it or you haven't," he says about himself, not the least abashed by praise of his organisational ability, boldness and imagination.

But there is more to his personality. On the eve of a friend's birthday, he wrote to him: "One should not overestimate such a day. The number of years means nothing. You're as old or as young as your state of health and your attitudes. Age is relative."

Beitz is one of those people for whom the zenith of life and work is always ahead and not behind.

His father was a cavalry NCO from Demmin on the periphery of Pomerania, Beitz graduated from high school in Greifswald in 1934 and went into banking. In 1939, he went to Royal Dutch Shell AG, rising to become the business manager of the Karpatan-Öl AG in Boryslaw in 1941.

Neither he nor his wife talks much about those days. But he was awarded Poland's highest civilian decoration for foreigners in addition to Israel's Yad Vashem Medal.

Herr and Frau Beitz saved the lives of many Jews and Poles.

Greifswald University awarded him an honorary doctorate for his services to developing world trade.

After the war, his initiative and boldness helped him develop links with East Bloc nations which benefited both Krupp and all German business.

Willy Brandt offered him the post of Bonn ambassador to Poland. Beitz declined. He might have accepted had it not been for loyalty to Krupp. Beitz is a man whose talents would make him successful in any field. In 1972, the chairman of German Olympic Committee, Willi Daume, appointed Beitz chief organiser for the yachting and rowing events of the Munich Olympic Games. These events were in Kiel. He later became a member of both the national and international Olympic committees. Beitz has always seized opportunities. In 1946, the British made him vice-president of the insurance authority in Hamburg. From there he went to Iduna Insurance, catapulting it in four years from place 16 to place three in the business.

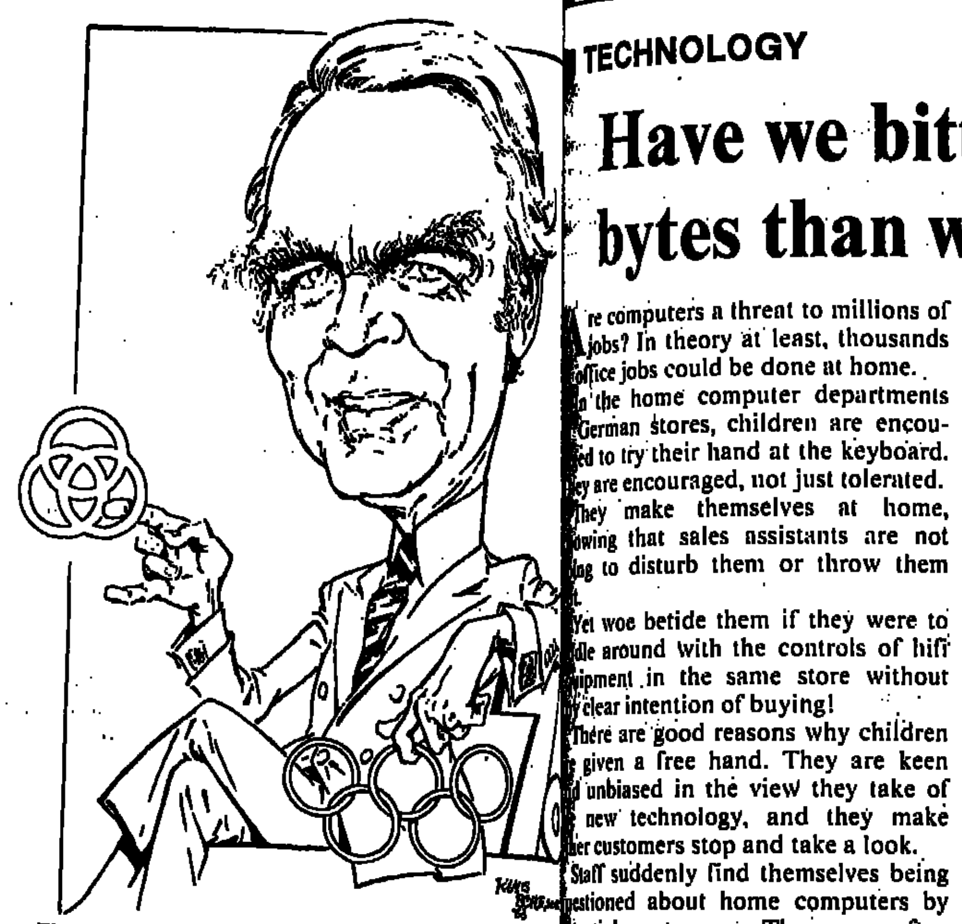
His prime job when he went to Krupp was to fight restrictions imposed by the Allies after the war. In 1968 they were removed.

Beitz's most important achievement was to have improved Krupp's [...] quidity through Iran's purchase [...] nority stake worth DM1bn.

It was typical of him that he [...] Ludwig Poullain, the former [...] Westdeutsche Landesbank who [...] then out of favour, taking him [...] the firing line.

Wilm Hi[...]

(Die Welt, 24 Septem[...])



The Lord of the Rings ... Berthold Beitz with the [...] (in right hand) and Olympic logos.

(Cartoon: Klaus Böhle-[...])

TECHNOLOGY

Have we bitten off more bytes than we can chew?

Are computers a threat to millions of jobs? In theory at least, thousands [...] office jobs could be done at home.

[...]n the home computer departments [...] German stores, children are encou[...]ed to try their hand at the keyboard. [...]y are encouraged, not just tolerated. They make themselves at home, [...]owing that sales assistants are not [...]ng to disturb them or throw them [...]t.

Yet woe betide them if they were to [...]dle around with the controls of hifi [...]ipment in the same store without [...]y clear intention of buying!

There are good reasons why children [...] given a free hand. They are keen [...]d unbiased in the view they take of [...] new technology, and they make [...]er customers stop and take a look.

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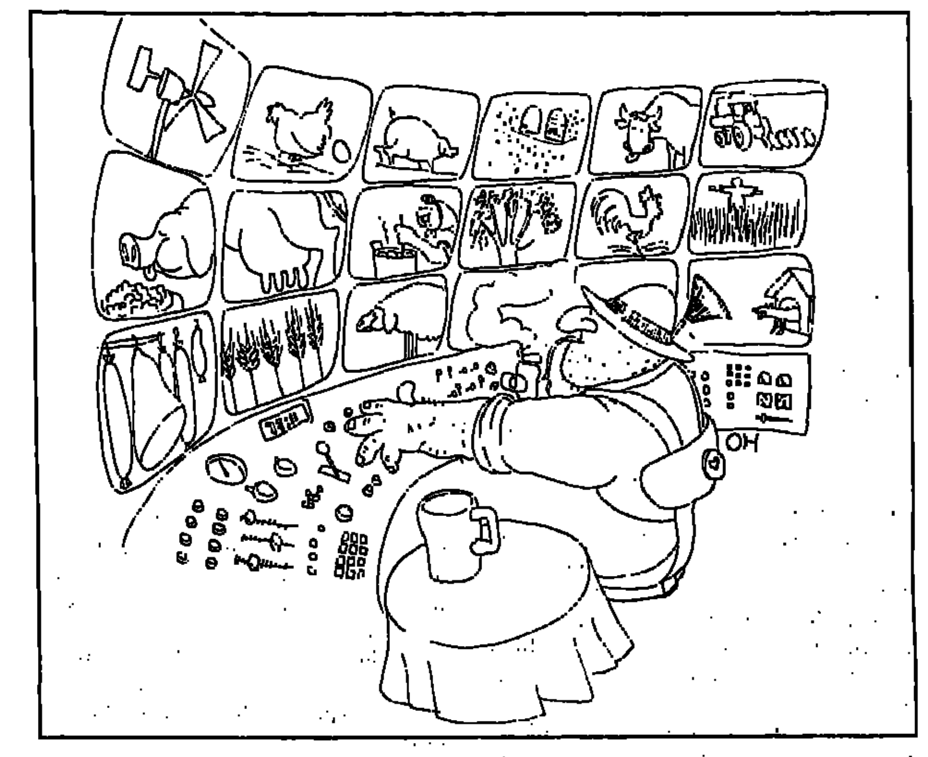
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(Rheinischer Merkur/Christ und Welt, 7 October 1983)



Letting the software do the hard work ... Farmer Franz tending the flock.

(Cartoon: Huber)

■ BUSINESS

The man who became top goal scorer for the Bochum Club

DIE WELT

When Berthold Beitz went to join Krupp in 1953, he thought the Bochum Club, the firm's colloquial name, was a soccer club.

Beitz, who has just turned 70, is the director of the supervisory board of Fried. Krupp GmbH, Essen and chairman of the Krupp Foundation, set up to run the organisation after Krupp died.

There is a whiff of vanity when he says he was never an employee of Krupp. But there is no self aggrandisement when he says Krupp has been his life's work.

The former confidant and personal plenipotentiary of the late Alfred Krupp von Bohlen und Halbach is today the empire's ruler and executor of Krupp's will.

At Krupp's graveside in 1967 he characterised his "friend and hero," saying: "His life was ruled by the dictates of duty and service to his company."

So is Beitz's. He is a fascinating blend of intuition and businesslike matter-of-factness.

"You cannot learn to be a manager. You've either got it or you haven't," he says about himself, not the least abashed by praise of his organisational ability, boldness and imagination.

But there is more to his personality. On the eve of a friend's birthday, he wrote to him: "One should not overestimate such a day. The number of years means nothing. You're as old or as young as your state of health and your attitudes. Age is relative."

Beitz is one of those people for whom the zenith of life and work is always ahead and not behind.

His father was a cavalry NCO from Demmin on the periphery of Pomerania, Beitz graduated from high school in Greifswald in 1934 and went into banking. In 1939, he went to Royal Dutch Shell AG, rising to become the business manager of the Karpatan-Öl AG in Boryslaw in 1941.

Neither he nor his wife talks much about those days. But he was awarded Poland's highest civilian decoration for foreigners in addition to Israel's Yad Vashem Medal.

Herr and Frau Beitz saved the lives of many Jews and Poles.

Greifswald University awarded him an honorary doctorate for his services to developing world trade.

After the war, his initiative and boldness helped him develop links with East Bloc nations which benefited both Krupp and all German business.

Willy Brandt offered him the post of Bonn ambassador to Poland. Beitz declined. He might have accepted had it not been for loyalty to Krupp. Beitz is a man whose talents would make him successful in any field. In 1972, the chairman of German Olympic Committee, Willi Daume, appointed Beitz chief organiser for the yachting and rowing events of the Munich Olympic Games. These events were in Kiel. He later became a member of both the national and international Olympic committees. Beitz has always seized opportunities. In 1946, the British made him vice-president of the insurance authority in Hamburg. From there he went to Iduna Insurance, catapulting it in four years from place 16 to place three in the business.

His prime job when he went to Krupp was to fight restrictions imposed by the Allies after the war. In 1968 they were removed.

Beitz's most important achievement was to have improved Krupp's li[...]quidity through Iran's purchase [...] minority stake worth DM1bn.

It was typical of him that he res[...] Ludwig Poullain, the former he[...] Westdeutsche Landesbank who [...] then out of favour, taking him [...] the firing line.

Wilm He[...]

(Die Welt, 24 Septem[...])



The Lord of the Rings ... Berthold Beitz with the [...] (in right hand) and Olympic logos.

(Cartoon: Klaus Böhle [...])

TECHNOLOGY

Have we bitten off more bytes than we can chew?

Are computers a threat to millions of jobs? In theory at least, thousands [of] office jobs could be done at home.

In the home computer departments [of] German stores, children are encouraged to try their hand at the keyboard. They are encouraged, not just tolerated.

They make themselves at home, knowing that sales assistants are not going to disturb them or throw them out.

Yet woe betide them if they were to fiddle around with the controls of hifi equipment in the same store without any clear intention of buying!

There are good reasons why children are given a free hand. They are keen and unbiased in the view they take of new technology, and they make other customers stop and take a look.

Staff suddenly find themselves being questioned about home computers by potential customers. They are often caught unawares and certainly untrained for promotional patter.

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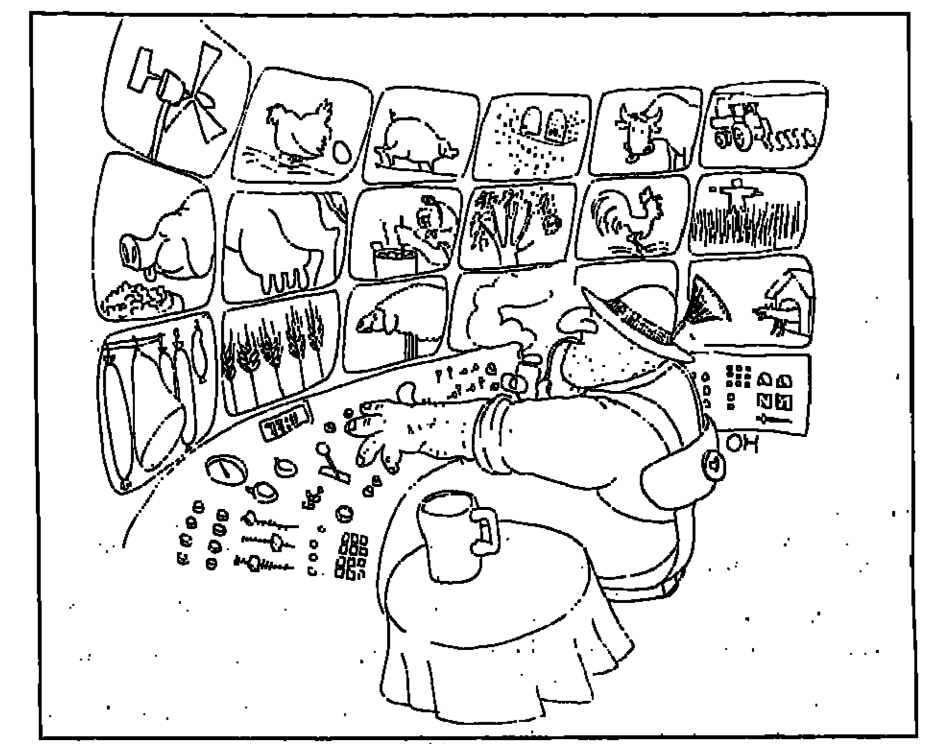
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(Rheinischer Merkur/Christ und Welt, 7 October 1983)



Letting the software do the hard work ... Farmer Franz tending the flock.

(Cartoon: Huber)

■ **LITERATURE**

The world of Nobel Prize winner William Golding

An English-language writer seemed likely to be awarded the Nobel Prize for literature. Nadine Gordimer was fancied. So was Doris Lessing.

Some felt that the Stockholm academicians would finally show common sense and choose one of the foremost European writers in recent decades, Graham Greene.

But Greene was overlooked yet again. This damages the Nobel Prize jury's reputation rather than Greene's.

Yet the jury does not need to be ashamed of their 1983 choice, William Golding, best known as the author of *Lord of the Flies.*

He is a major English writer of the older generation, if not a famours one. His novels, which are not always easy reading, have been available in German for over 20 years.

They are held in high regard by a fairly limited number of connoisseurs.

Golding was born in 1911 in a small town in Cornwall. Some Germans imagine Cornwall to be an eerie and gloomy place because Wagner's *Tristan* is set there. German directors have tended for some time to give the opera a dark and gloomy air.

This view of Cornwall is not entirely inaccurate. It is a part of England where people with second sight are said to live.

It is an area where tendencies toward the occult coincide with religious mania, the mystic and the mysterious, as Golding's readers can well imagine.

His family was nothing special, and he became a teacher, like his father. He taught at a boys' school in Salisbury from 1939 to 1961

But during the war he was in the Royal Navy, and active service is said to have left an indelible mark on him.

It is reputed to have ingrained the pessimism in a man who believes neither in progress nor in the possibility of changing the world.

Evil is within man himself. It cannot be eliminated, merely recognised for what it is.

Gloomy and bizarre though Golding's stage set may be, he does hold out some hope in not ruling out the possibility of the individual coming to know himself.

He did not start writing until late in life and can hardly be said to have had much initial success. He was unable to find a publisher for his first three novels.

But he then made a name for himself virtually overnight and was famous for a while as the author of a novel unforgettable for the harsh and uncompromising manner in which it is narrated.

Lord of the Flies, published in English in 1954 and in German translation in 1956, tells the tale of a group of schoolboys left to their own devices on an uninhabited Pacific island.

Whether they want to or not, they are forced to form a community or society. The result is frightening. In such special and difficult circumstances seemingly primeval instincts come to the fore and civilised people soon prove to be barbarians.

Golding's subsequent novels were not as successful as his first, which was filmed by Peter Brook. They are also parables intended to demonstrate basic human situations.

Frankfurter Allgemeine

They are primitive situations usually depicted in terms of archaisc, mythical configurations.

The relationship between good and evil, meaning and madness, humanity and inhumanity is one Golding persistently views whith scepticism and a heavy heart.

Yet his leanings toward the transcendental are too evident ever to lend support to suspicions that he might be a nihilist.

The Inheritors, 1955, published in German as *Die Erben* in 1964, is a strange and extremely frightening novel in which the last Neanderthalers are unremittlingly wiped out by homo sapiens.

Pincher Martin, 1956, entitled in German *Der Felsen des zweiten Todes,* tells the tale of a shipwrecked man who reviews his life in the course of his death agony. In both novels the forces of evil triumph.

The Spire, 1964, published in German as *Der Turm der Kathedrale* in 1966, is characteristic of Golding's view of the world and of his strange yet impressive imagination.

The building of an extraordinary cathedral (Salisbury immediately springs to mind) symbolises the senselessness and presumptuousness of human activity. The cathedral is built on marshy ground.

His *Darkness Visible,* 1979, published in German as *Das Feuer der Finsternis* in 1980, was less successful, being accused of wordiness and pseudo-profundity.

All his books are full of macabre visions. Obsessions always play a leading role. Golding readily depicts all manner of perversions.

There is no shortage of sadists and exhibitionists or of criminals or people who turn out to be infamous individuals.

So is his world in the final analysis an inhuman one? Literary critics do not agree on this point, and it is not an easy one on which to arrive at a decision.

As the vague and mysterious often prevails in Golding's work, interpreters are in a position to cite all manner of examples in support of the most varied tenets and interpretations.

Golding consistently avoids committing himself, for which he ca[n be] blamed, and his work contains [an enor]mous number of parabolic moti[fs].

A writer who whose scant in[...] to resist the irrational and my[...] and indeed gives it preference [...] be expected to go in for a [...] artistic preoccupation with conte[mpora]ry issues.

Yet there can be no doubt tha[t...] parables relate to our own era, [...] least inspired by it.

There are no arguments abo[ut the] quality of his prose, although Ge[rman] readers can hardly judge, having [...] on a variety of translations.

His virtuoso command of la[nguage] enables him to tell his tales with [a...] degree of descriptive power.

He is hard to pigeonhole in te[rms of] literary history. His writing has [...]ly been said to testify to Joyce['s in]fluence.

That may be true, but which E[nglish] novelist in recent decades has no[t...] from Joyce?

No, Golding cannot be ascrib[ed to] any particular school of writing[...] uses many modern forms of expr[ession] but in the final analysis remains [a] conservative and a traditional wri[ter].

It is greatly to the Stockholm [acad]emy's credit that it had the pluck [to de]cide in favour of a loner and outsi[der].

But its continued neglect of sev[eral of] the most important comtemporary [wri]ters jeopardises the enormous re[puta]tion the Nobel Prize still enjoys.

Marcel Reich-Rani[cki]

(Frankfurter Allgemeine [Zeitung] für Deutschland, 7 Octob[er 1983])

■ **PHILOSOPHY**

Failed bid to bury Adorno academically

Fourteen years after the death of Theodor W. Adorno, the first international conference on the man and his work has been held at Frankfurt University.

Adorno was a principal advocate of the Critical Theory school of sociology and philosophy.

The aim of the conference, Jürgen Habermas said, has been a productive assimilation of Adorno from the semi-distance in present-day philosophical and sociological debate.

An attempt was to have been made to counteract what he called the fateful tendency to allow irrationalists to lay claim to Adorno's negative dialectics.

But the Critical Theory proved much more alive than either its friends or foes had imagined.

The framework of a specialist gathering was split at the seams by an enormous influx, totally unexpected by the organisers, of grey-haired veterans and inquisitive youngsters.

In the university's largest lecture theatre, which was full to overflowing, the atmosphere at times resembled that at a rock concert.

Try though some of the speakers might, they failed to bury Adorno academically.

The final lecture was by Martin Jay, a philosopher who teaches at Berkeley, California. He scotched once and for all the organisers' intentions and said how it was.

Despite many differences Adorno's exemplary figure of the modern man

Nordwest Zeitung

may be ranked alongside that of vehement critics of reason.

Adorno was not given to systematising; he was a master of microanalysis. Yet his ideas retain an inner link and are thus of systematic rigour.

He was a materialist, as his noted pupil Alfred Schmidt, of Frankfurt, noted — if that meant socially deciphering cultural phenomena.

The reality could not be retraced to the concept. Adorno uncompromisingly rejected a kitsch philosophy striving for "higher" values.

Yet he by no means ruled out the ultimate issues of meaning and death.

Adorno's materialism, Schmidt said in the opening lecture, is aimed at the idea of intellectual and sensual pleasure, at the utopia of a reconciliation with nature.

Michael Theunissen, of Berlin, showed that this was not merely a naive hope. In his lecture on Negativity in Adorno he said Adorno did not want to yield to immediacy.

The negative nature of the existing world, which was totally wrong, was read by Adorno as the mirror image of an entirely different world.

At present this other world was only apparent in works of art.

Albrecht Wellmer, of Konstanz, likewise praised the reality-opening p[ower] of the beautiful. But the truth of ar[t was] never more than a potential as Ad[orno] saw it.

This did not rule out the possi[bility] of works of art having to be unders[tood] as sensual manifestations of sense [ex]tracted in experience.

Adorno nonetheless failed to ap[pre]ciate popular art and was always st[rongly] opposed to jazz. He rejected as p[...]tine the "practical" approach to w[orks] of art.

Peter Bürger, of Bremen, raised [the] problem of the extent to which Ad[or]no's aesthetic theory could be ascr[ibed] to the post-moderns.

Their aim was to eliminate the [dis]tinction between art and life.

Adorno diagnosed at an early [stage] the ageing of modernity, but he re[...] the dialectics of art and life.

Both differ yet are inseparably li[nked] in an interface of assimilation and [re]pellence aimed at finding truth.

Hans Robert Jauss, the Konstanz [lite]rary critic, criticised as Platonic [...] such concept of truth. Instead, toget[her] with Habermas, he advocated a con[sen]sus concept of truth.

Jauss was the most prominent [...]rer to persistently try and interp[ret] Adorno as a forerunner of Habermas.

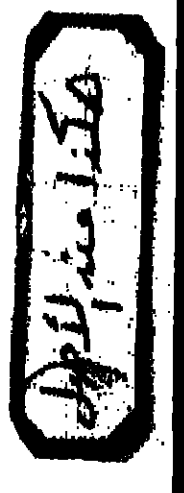
A phalanx of Frankfurt School s[up]porters of Habermas, who has be[en] back at Frankfurt for the past [...] months, sought to refute what Hel[mut] Dubiel termed Adorno's all too rad[ical] criticism of reason.

They were seconded by Herb[ert] Schnädelbach, of Hamburg, who s[aid] Adorno had had too little confidence [in] logic.

Hauke Brunckhorst at least poi[nted] out what distinguished Adorno fr[om] Habermas' communicative reason w[ith] its linguistic medium of control.

According to Adorno we must st[...]

Continued on page 11



■ **THE CINEMA**

Soviet film takes top prize at festival

[T]op prize at the 32nd International [...] Film Festival in Mannheim was [some]what surprisingly awarded to the [Sovi]et film *Männererziehung* (Male Up[brin]ging) by Uzmann Saparov.

[It] depicts the confrontation between [old] and new life styles in an Asian part [of th]e Soviet Union.

[T]here have been better works on the [...]e especially from a child's point of [view].

[T]he special prize for the best TV film [wen]t to a production by one of Germa[ny'] s two major TV networks, ZDF, [An]ou Banou oder Die Töchter der Uto[pie] (Anou Banou or the Daughters of [Uto]pia) by Edna Politi.

"Anou Banou" are the initial words [of a]n emotive Hebrew song.

In the film, six women who came to [Pa]lestine from Poland and Russia in the [19]20s relate their story. They tell of [thei]r utopias, of early socialists, Zio[nis]ts and Russian feminists.

"All human deeds begin and end as [dre]ams." These words by Theodor [He]rzl could well have served as the [fil]m's leitmotif.

The women, now in their 80s, give the [im]pression of being more alive and re[vo]lutionary than their grandchildren. [Wh]at they dreamed of and started turn[in]g into reality in their kibbutzim is far [re]moved from today's Israel.

It is a film that concerns ideals and [wh]at becomes of them, a film that is re[lev]ant here and now.

The Polish feature film *Eine Postkar[te] von der Reise* (A Postcard from a [Jo]urney), Waldemar Dziki's first work, [de]als with the most tragic chapter of [Je]wish history.

It is based on the novel *Herr Theodor [M]undstock* by the Czech writer Ladis[la]v Fuchs. The stark and sombre cam[era] work almost never comes out of [se]mi-darkness.

During World War II a man engages [in] a sort of survival training in the ghet[to] to prepare himself for his deporta[tio]n to a concentration camp. Realities [ar]e no more than intimated. The film [un]folds in a Kafkaesque atmosphere [tha]t is underscored by Zygmunt Ko[ni]eczny's music.

Most of the other films were rather [co]nventional.

The Yugoslav entry continues the ["b]lack" series of Yugoslav films of the late 1960s. That was when the director Dragan Kresoja produced his first works at the Belgrade film club.

In his Mannheim entry, the feature film *Nur noch dieses eine Mal* (Just this one more Time), he relates the experiences of two prisoners on parole.

One, the son of a high-ranking party official who was sent to prison for pushing drugs, finds his wife with another man and his addict brother in a mental hospital.

The other dies when he his girlfriend. She had lived from prostitution while he was in prison.

Prostitution, drug addiction, alcoholism, old age and loneliness are also problems for doctors and nurses in the emergency ward of a Berlin hospital.

Johann Feindt's *Der Versuch zu leben* (An Attempt to Live) observes them and their patients at close range yet unobtrusively. The "cases" which he follows even after their leaving the hospital (camera Karl Siebig) are never put on exhibit.

Detachment is the only way the doctor manages to keep himself from disintegrating.

Der Versuch zu leben, produced by the German Film and TV Academy in Berlin, is a microcosm of metropolitan anonymity: an attempt to live.

So were some of the other films. Many were no more than attempts. Some were failures.

The Greek entry *Engel* (Angel) by George Katakouzinos, is based on a true crime committed in Athens's homosexual milieu. It is the story of a young man who escapes unsavoury family conditions by seeking refuge with a friend.



Conflict in a Asian Soviet . . . a scene from 'Männererziehung.'

(Photo: Mannheim film festival)

Through him, he becomes a professional transvestite who is made to prostitute himself.

The story has been turned into a bloody melodrama that confirms rather than removes ingrained prejudices.

The South African entry, *Mein Land, mein Hut* is David Bensusan's first work and is equally questionable.

The plight of Johannesburg's black population serve as a pretext for a traditional play with comical complications over the macabre attempt to cover up a fatal accident. The blacks are seen from a colonialist Uncle Tom perspective. Any black humour that might have been intended failed.

A novelty at this year's festival was a special competition for new film-making countries.

Prizes of DM4,000 of the DM10,000 provided by the Bonn Development Aid Ministry went to *Der Mut der Anderen* (The Courage of the Others) by Christian Richard of Upper Volta.

The story of suppression and resistance is told entirely without dialogue. It is conveyed through stark pictures resembling African folk tales.

Das Haus des Herrn Haghdoost (Mr Haghdoost's House) an Iranian entry by Mahmoud Samiy, a graduate of the Munich Film Academy, also has no dialogue. Samiy uses elements of old silent comedies to relate his story.

He received a DM3,000 prize, as did the Philippine entry *Turumba* by Kidlat Tahimik.

Entries from new film-making nations should be better integrated in the general competition next year.

Third World film-makers are poorly served by being relegated to a ghetto for people not yet to be taken seriously.

Heinz Kersten

(Stuttgarter Zeitung, 11 October 1983)

Continued from page 10

[...]not only for other people but also [fo]r nature, and nature is an eye-opener, [ena]bling us to realise points, but does [no]t function as a mouth-opener, un[lea]shing language.

For Adorno true language was [sp]eechless, just as the true object was [im]ageless. The temporal nucleus of [tr]uth, he said, resisted dialogue.

In this scepticism Adorno has much [in] common with the extra-academic ["w]ild thinkers" who have broken with [th]e prevailing rationality.

In Frankfurt this philosophical proxi[mi]ty of ideologically opposed views [wa]s to have been denied, but helpless [bi]ds to refute it only emphasised the [...]point.

Wolfgang Schirmacher

(Nordwest-Zeitung, 26 September 1983)

Dorian Gray completes the picture

Ulrike Ottinger's latest film, *Dorian Gray im Spiegel der Boulevardpresse* (Dorian Gray reflected in the tabloid Press), completes her trilogy.

The series started with *Bildnis einer Trinkerin* (Picture of a Woman Alcoholic), 1979. This was followed in 1981 by *Freak Orlando.*

Apart from a few personality traits of the lead, the film has little similarity with Oscar Wilde's "Picture of Dorian Gray".

The title's reference to the daringly melodramatic turn-of-the-century Wilde novel was essentially meant as a hommage to the author. The film is not a cinematic adaptation of the novel.

Ulrike Ottinger read Wilde's only novel a long time ago. She decided not to reread it because she wanted to retain the impression she gained at the time. The idea was to use the imagery that was retained in her mind for free thought association.

This was the method she used with *Orlando,* which was based on a Virginia Woolf novel.

Orlando's journey through the centuries turned into a film about freaks and peripheral groups.

Their involvement in a variety of power structures, past and present, was translated into episodes of fantastic imagery.

Wilde's Dorian Gray, a young and handsome dandy enamoured of himself, is a special kind of freak.

His extreme lust for pleasure drives him into an irresponsible and — in his era — scandalous way of life that proves his undoing. Ultimately, his conscience demands atonement.

Ottinger has seized on Dorian Gray's special personality, particularly his narcissism, to turn him into the perfect victim of a world-wide media concern.

The press empire is headed by a woman, a Dr Mabuse with a computer brain that tells her to drop her obsolete journalistic methods.

Rather than wait for a story to present to her sensation starved readership, she wants to create her own tailor-made sensations and scandals as needed.

Dorian Gray, with his unbridled lust for life, seems the right man for the job.

He becomes dependent on the concern. But by the same token he is also its most brilliant pupil, seeing through its structures.

This second interpretation is intended to mirror his character, presenting two facets of one truth as with the two alcoholics in *Bildnis einer Trinkerin.* They, too, represent two aspects of the same character.

A further facet was added by giving the role to a woman: the former photo model Veruschka von Lehndorff.

Ulrike Ottinger has known her since she played Gabriele D'Annunzio in Elfriede Jelinek's "Clara S."

Von Lehndorff is less practised as an actress than Delphine Seyrig, who plays Dr Mabuse. She is more "naive and brittle." But this very fact makes for the desired tension in the film.

Other members of the cast are Barbara Valentin, Irm Hermann, Magdalena Montezuma, Wolf Vostell and Tabea Blumenschein. This is Blumenschein's first work under Ulrike Ottinger after a prolonged break.

Apart from a brief Canaries episode, the bulk of the film was shot in Berlin. Ottinger has again travelled widely to find new locations.

She has again discovered unusual industrial installations, among them decomposition towers in Ruhleben. She has also latched onto underground sewage systems which she has put in an entirely unfamiliar context.

Our interview ended with a complaint about the current film policy in this country — a complaint that must be taken seriously.

Ottinger regards her Dorian Gray film as the last one she will be able to realise as an independent producer because author-film makers are increasingly being displaced by industrial films.

New provisions calling for 20 per cent of the producer's own cash will squeeze out the small members of the industry or force them to join up with big firms.

Artistic freedom will be lost in the process, and this can hardly be the aim of Interior Minister Friedrich Zimmermann's cultural policy.

Carla Rhode

(Der Tagesspiegel, 2 October 1983)

■ RESEARCH

Photovoltaics: power without fuel and waste products

"We have here an entirely new physical phenomenon of the utmost scientific importance," Werner von Siemens told the Prussian Academy of Science in 1872.

It was, he said, a matter of the direct conversion of light into electric power. He was referring to the photovoltaic properties of selenium.

Siemens, the founder of German electrical engineering, had sufficient imagination to be fascinated by the discovery.

The conversion of light straight into electric power, without fuel and without waste products, is still, 111 years later, a concept that calls for imagination.

Max Planck, Albert Einstein and other scientists succeeded in solving the mystery of light and energy shortly after the turn of the century.

They realised that light must be seen as a current of elementary energy particles capable of transferring their energy straight to the electrons, the elementary particles of electric power.

Yet there seems to be no shaking at the foundations of the prevailing view that electric power will continue for all time to be generated solely by mechanical means, via turbines and generators.

Research scientists and industrial executives nonetheless can now state a reasonable case for the possibility of an alternative.

Microelectronics has taught them how fast semiconductor technology can outstrip even the most optimistic forecasts. And photovoltaics, the technique of light conversion, is likewise a semiconductor technology.

A miniature photovoltaic power station has just started work in a Munich home. Like the computer, it could be the first of millions of such devices.

It electronically generates 220-volt alternating current from light, feeding it into the grid. Its trailblazing output is about as much as the average household consumes in a year.

There are two salient features to this new source of electric power. First, it runs absolutely noiselessly. It contains no more moving parts.

Second, it takes up very little space. Fifty square metres of module form part of the gabled glass roof, in some cases taking the place of the plate glass.

Otherwise the unit consists of a few wires and the new electronic inverter that converts direct current from the roof into alternating current for the grid.

The inverter is no larger than an attaché case, and the entire installation is a textbook example of how closely interlinked in practice microelectronics and photovoltaics are.

It is not just that the solar cells in the roof of the building, supplying about 5,000 kilowatt hours of power per annum, are made of the same material as microchips.

A Siemens semiconductor component known as a Sipmos transistor converts solar electric power almost without loss of power into the form accepted by consumers such as the refrigerator, the vacuum cleaner and the electric drill.

The Sipmos element is capable of handling more than one million times per second current of up to 40 kilowatts.

The new conversion device, developed at the Fraunhofer Institute of Solar Energy Systems in Freiburg, works like this:

Its electronics measures half a million times per second the varying voltage of electric power from the grid and immediately collects the same tension from the roof, ensuring that solar alternating current runs at the same frequency as grid current.

Electric power from the roof thus automatically keeps in tune with variations in grid voltage, which is a major safety precaution on which power utilities insist.

The Munich pilot project is still at the experimental stage. The Fraunhofer Institute is hoping it will provide long-term experience prior to widespread use.

It is not yet economic by any stretch of the imagination. The solar cells in the roof, and they alone, cost over DM100,000.

Yet a company and research scientists were soon found to set the project up in next to no time.

The initial investment, however, was made by Jochen Richter, a Munich TV film executive, who spent a pile of nerves and cash on making his dream of living in a house of glass in a natural environment come true.

His house was designed by Munich architects Thomas Herzog and Bernhard Schilling, whose solar architecture was awarded the Mies van der Rohe Prize.

The Fraunhofer Institute put to good use the opportunity of pioneering photovoltaic power. It was backed by the European Community, by AEG, Siemens and Varta and by Munich's municipal power utility.

The experimental power station was

DIE ZEIT

switched on by Bavarian Economic Affairs Minister Anton Jaumann.

A medium-sized German electrical engineering company has already said it is prepared to industrially manufacture the crucial new device, the inverter.

Patents have been applied for in the leading industrialised countries.

Mass production could cut the cost of photovoltaic power dramatically. Japanese companies already have experience in respect of one use.

They hold a commanding position in an entire world market for photovoltaics: its use in consumer electronics.

Clocks, calculators and the like are readily run on solar power. A single Japanese manufacturer, Sanyo, makes over one and a half million tiny solar cells a month.

So Japanese industry will be assured of advanced knowhow for mass production when larger cells' turn for use in generating power comes in a few years' time.

The Japanese Ministry of Industry and Trade would like to equip virtually every house in the country with photovoltaics in the long term.

The aim is to reduce Japan's dependence on imported oil.

US companies are likewise already



Photovoltaic house in Munich . . . new angle on solar power.

meeting the requirements of substantial photovoltaic market. Millions of American air conditioning plants need peak power when the Sun is shining brightest.

So photovoltaic power is competitive in America at the point where it costs no more than peak power generated by gas turbines.

Peak power is expensive, with special gas turbines to meet the demand being witched on to work air conditioners around midday.

Besides, half the cost of solar equipment can frequently be covered by tax concessions.

Near Hesperia in the Mojave desert, an hour's drive from Los Angeles, the first one-megawatt photovoltaic power station is already at work.

It went on line last spring and was built and run by Arco Solar, the US market leader in photovoltaics and a subsidiary of the oil company Atlantic Richfield.

Its output, three million kilowatt hours a year, is supplied to Southern California Edison, one of the two leading power utilities in the state.

In this first large-scale exercise in photovoltaic power generation 108 tall steel trackers revolve automatically to keep track of the Sun.

Each points sunwards an array of 256 solar modules. In all, nearly one million solar cells convert sunlight into electric power out there in the desert.

The power station took 38 weeks to built, and the next one, with a capacity 16 times greater, is already in line for construction.

Europeans still lack such opportunities of going in for mass production, and production figures underline the fact.

This year Arco Solar is expected to manufacture solar cells with a total capacity of six megawatts in America. Sanyo and Sharp, of Japan, come second and third with an output of two megawatts each.

The only European company in the ranks of the Top Ten is AEG-Telefunken, with 800 kilowatts, and of the 10 four are American and four Japanese corporations.

Other European manufacturers have a combined output of between 200 and 300 kilowatts, largely due to a programme pioneered by the EEC Commission.

This year and next, 15 pilot units in eight European countries are to go on line. Their peak output will range from 30 to 300 kilowatts.

In Europe, as elsewhere, the use of photovoltaic power on any scale is likely to be a matter of price rather than time.

Costs can be cut by both mass production and new technologies. [...] mising step is the transition [...] crystalline silicium.

This new material is no lo[...] truded as a pure crystal at temp[...] of over 1,000°C; it is cast by [...] an entirely new process.

In Germany the new process [...] by Wacker Chemitronic and [...] backing from the Bonn Resea[...] Technology Ministry.

The toughest competition is [...] in the context of so-called [...] technology, which could save [...] on the costly raw materials used [...] miconductors.

Current crystal platelets are [...] millimetre thick. In future, semi[...] tor material could be 100 to 1,00[...] thinner.

Amorphous cells may not be a[...] conductors as the crystalline vari[...] as already manufactured by Ja[...] firms they make do with a siliciu[...] of a mere half-thousandth of a [...] metre.

They can be steamed on to [...] easily as on to plastic or shee[...] Arco Solar have announced pl[...] market amorphous solar modules [...]

Square modules about a foot [...] said to achieve seven-per-cent ef[...]cy, as against seven to 12 per c[...] crystalline cells.

The percentage refers to the a[...] of energy from sunlight absorbed [...] converted into electric power.

It is hard to say which photo[...] technique is likely to prove be[...] cheapest and to dominate the mar[...] 10 or 15 years' time.

Maybe several techniques wil[...] their own side by side, but one [...] seems fairly sure.

In the 1990s the fast breeder [...] will still be under development, [...] reas the photovoltaic industry wi[...] have come into its own as a growth [...] tor.

It will benefit from being sp[...]neously accepted by the public [...] being viewed as a challenge [...] public's imagination.

The range of uses is already st[...] extending from desert power sta[...] medicine chests refrigerated by [...] power and the surprising request [...] mitted by a Bavarian clergyman.

The power station is America[...] medicine chest Japanese, the Ge[...] idea, in this case relayed to Arco S[...] German subsidiary, Atec Electro[...] Schondorf, that of running the e[...] ing light in the clergyman's church [...] celestial power.

Franz Fri[...]

(Die Zeit, 30 Septembe[...])

[M]EDICINE

Close identification with patients 'can be disastrous for doctors'

[Fra]nkfurter Allgemeine

[...]y doctors identify too closely [wi]th their work with disastrous consequences, a conference [...] told.

[...A]merican psychiatrist told the [...C]ongress for Psychosomatics in [...]g that one reason was the type [...]son attracted to medicine.

[...] Gabbard, from Topeka, in Kan[...] [q]uoted the example of a doctor still [...]ed by the memory of a patient [...] had died 17 years before from [...] after a penicillin injection. He [...b]een asked first if he was allergic to [...]llin and had said that he was not. [...]lleagues of the doctor constantly [...]ured him that he was not to blame. [...]he doctor still spent sleepless [...] because of the incident.

[...] Gabbard said people with particu[...]rsonalities often decided to become [do]ctors. Medical training intensified [...] personality characteristics.

[...]tors were people with a highly [...]oped sense of duty. This was good [...]tients. Doctors' personalities were [...]d of guilt feelings, scepticism and [...]e of responsibility.

[...G]abbard quoted studies that doc[...] [c]hoose medicine as a reaction to an [...]cious fear of death originating in [...]hood.

[...] said that — more than people in [...] professions — they are marked by [...] character traits as dependence, [...]ism, helplessness and self-doubt.

[...] decision to study medicine has a [...]efence mechanism.

[...]lings of impotence and of their [...]nce being threatened were warded [...]y using medicine to fight sickness [...d]eath in others.

[...] frequently led to excessive de[...] on one's own performance, and [...]n turn heightened public faith in [...]cine.

[...] ambition to be omnipotent was [...]y contrasted a frequent inability [...]more than provide relief.

[...] Gabbard said it was a paradox [...]e very group of people who tend [...] helpless by nature picked a pro[...]n in which they were constantly [...]ded of their impotence in the face [...]ness and death.

This psychological analysis excluded doctors who were drinkers, drug users or who had other psychological disorders.

Doctors with such problems were not a negligible minority. The German edition of *Medical Tribune* had reported increasing cirrhosis of the liver, drug addiction and suicide among British doctors.

Many doctors worked so long into the night so often that their family life suffered.

Working in a joint practice with other doctors in no way changed this, Dr Gabbard told the Congress.

The feeling of being needed was as indispensable to the doctor as applause to the actor.

A typical childhood characteristic of doctors was that the only way of earning recognition from their parents was an ever greater sense of responsibility, industriousness and self-denial.

Doctors usually found it difficult to take time off and relax. Some devoted themselves to their children as a pure duty at fixed times.

Taking time off evidently frightened many. A doctor who never stopped and felt guilty about a few minutes of leisure was the most telling example of an exaggerated Protestant work ethic.

One young cardiologist took a day off to buy furniture with his wife. The furniture remained unbought because migraine forced him to spend the day in bed.

Such guilt feelings could easily turn into physical problems. People with an exaggerated sense of duty tried to punish themselves to restore their psychological balance.

If for no other reason, doctors had a permanent guilty conscience because they felt they must keep abreast of latest developments although they knew that they had no time to do so.

Leafing through piles of magazines salved their conscience to some extent.

Dr Gabbard described the typical doctor as somebody under constant pressure and saw himself as the victim of circumstances outside his control.

This was as bad for his patients as it was for his family.

The doctor's self-destructive way of life could only end once he learned to differentiate between selfishness and a healthy guarding of his own interests. Dr Gabbard stressed that this was not selfish. It was sensible.

Only once a doctor got to the point of thinking of his own well-being, when he recognised his limitations and accepted mortality would he make life easier for both himself and his patients.

But this meant cutting down on work and hence income, Dr Gabbard said.

A more pleasant way of life had its price. Dr Gabbard urged that the old image of the tireless helper and superhuman master over life and death be changed.

He said that thorough work was compatible with a healthy sense of duty and a normal private life. *Rosemarie Stein*

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 30 September 1983)

Back aches on the increase

There are indications that backaches have become more common.

The director of Essen University Orthopaedic Clinic, Professor Karl Schlegel, told the German Society for Orthopaedics and Traumatology that this was primarily because there is more desk work, more fat people and less exercise now.

It could also be due to the fact that people have become more sensitive to pain.

To prevent damage to the spine, he recommended training the muscles and frequent changes of position.

During holidays, physical habits should change. *dpa*

(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, 21 September 1983)

Most drugs are 'ineffective, unnecessary'

Only few of the drugs sold by German chemists are effective and necessary, a team of Austrian authors says.

Many of the drugs that provide the German pharmaceuticals industry with annual sales worth DM15bn have either no effect or not the one claimed by the industry. Others lead to addiction or do more harm than good.

This is the conclusion the four authors arrive at in their book *Bittere Pillen* (Bitter Pills), published by Kiepenheuer & Witsch, Cologne.

Together with pharmacologists, pharmacists and scientists, the authors tested 2,3000 out of 70 000 drugs marketed in Germany. They account for 80 per cent of the industry's sales.

The book categorises the drugs according to their application, describing and evaluating them,

The evaluation is based on scientific literature about the individual active agents.

Only 24.6 per cent of the drugs are described as therapeutically meaningful. Another 16.6 per cent are given this label with reservations regarding their range of application. 14.2 per cent are labelled "of little use."

The authors advise against the use of 44.1 per cent of the drugs reviewed. In some cases they pan whole groups of drugs. Only one of the 27 anti-flu drugs is described as useful. The others should not be used, the authors say.

The same goes for the widely sold non-prescriptive painkillers.

One of the authors' scientific advisers, Munich pharmacologist Professor Jörg Remien, has told a press conference that the main objective of the 864-page book was to provide better information for doctors.

This is to enable them to find their way through the pharmaceuticals maze and counter their patients' demands for fashionable drugs.

Patients, on the other hand, are to be enabled to discuss their medication with their doctor with some sense.

Professor Remien criticised the fact that only few doctors pursue what he called a "rational prescribing practice."

One of the co-authors, Peter Sichrovsky, a former executive in the pharmaceuticals industry, also criticised doctors for being irrational in their prescribing practices.

He said that their inadequate training permitted the industry to manipulate them.

Sichrovsky (who originally hid behind the pseydonym Roland Werner) and his threee co-authors had already published a critical drug report in 1981. That book was called *Gesunde Geschäfte* (Healthy Deals).

dpa

(Allgemeine Zeitung Mainz, 20 September 1983)

A row has erupted over the publication of school textbooks produced specially to help Turkish children in Germany learn their own language.

A right-wing Turkish newspaper, *Tercüman*, says the books are poisoning children with ideas of communists and "other militants".

Complaints have been received from the Turkish education ministry and a consulate teacher burnt some copies.

The textbooks were specially written as part of a scheme offering Turkish as a foreign language option to Turkish children in Berlin.

An EEC directive has said that children of foreign workers from member and associate member nations of the EEC are legally entitled to lessons in their mother tongue.

But a problem in Berlin was textbooks. They could not be imported from Turkey, because they had to be suitable for children who could not read or write Turkish.

Two Turkish authors were commissioned. The guidelines called for the history and culture of the home country to receive as much emphasis as the environment, family education and housing of foreign families in Germany.

It was a difficult task. The authors had to deal carefully with such themes as the undemocratic rule in Turkey and growing hostility in Germany towards foreigners.

The book-burning episode was because the books have quotes from people not in current political favour in Turkey including former Prime Minister Bülent Eecevit.

Tercüman accused Berlin's education senator, Hanna-Renate Laurien (CDU), of condoning left-wing ideologies being taught to Turkish children.

■ MIGRANTS

No Turkish delight in new language textbooks

It said the education department was trying to alienate Turkish children from Turkey.

Turkish has been an option for Turkish children since 1978 in some Berlin schools. Since 1979 mother tongue instruction has been a mandatory option in all German schools.

In 1981 the EEC said all children of foreign workers from an EEC member state or associate state had the right to lessons in their mother tongue.

Many people think that the entire scheme will prove too much for Turkish children with poor Turkish and bad German. There are 28,000 Turkish schoolchildren in Berlin.

The teachers in the Berlin scheme all qualified in Turkey. They were handed a provisional curriculum, but the lack of suitable textbooks forced them to improvise.

German publishers were not interested in providing textbooks because of the commercial risks.

The Berlin Senate asked the *Bund-Länder-Kommission* in Bonn (a mixed federal and state committee) to produce textbooks.

Seminar director Gerhard Weil commissioned two Turkish authors, Incilâ Özhan, who has lived in Germany for 17 years, and the writer Adnan Binyazar, who had worked for the Turkish Education Ministry.

They were faced with several problems. The selection of the texts was even more difficult than purely educational structuring. The intention was to devise language rather than current affairs books, Weil stressed.

The undemocratic conditions in Turkey, a Nato partner, and the growing hostility towards foreigners in Germany made this a tightrope act for the authors.

They appear to have adequately highlighted conditions in Turkey.

The response of children and parents has been positive. The textbooks have become a sort of family reading matter, say the Turkish teachers in Berlin. There have been many requests for additional teaching material for the parents.

Topics like how to handle advertising and video films have met with as much interest as the cautious criticism of patriarchal family structures. The same applies to the description of discriminatory practices and the misery in the *gecekondus*, the slums that are "non-existent" according to Turkish officialdom.

The new textbooks deal with everyday experiences and the typical conflicts facing foreign families in their host countries.

The depiction of local conditions is restricted to a few pages because the textbooks are to be used in other West German states and West European countries.

A textbook publisher will be given a publication licence as soc... ponse from further afield ... the 128-page illustrated ... been revised.

"This will be the first tex... pear in several languages," ...

The response to the ... Hamburg, Hesse and N... Westphalia (Bavaria has no... a reaction) has been encour...

But the teachers' union ha... servations. It suspects that ... of the home language is ... help repatriation of Turkish ...

Some principals and teac... that the pupils are divided ... tegories: the good ones who ... lish and the poor ones who ... kish. This division was the ... than the exception.

They frequently feign org... difficulties and keep the ... formed in order to spare ... schools the new subject.

Weil: "I hope that the situ... ease considerably."

But he has refused to ... whether Turkish instruction, ... present Berlin curriculum ... only up to the tenth grade, ... an exam subject for high scho... tion.

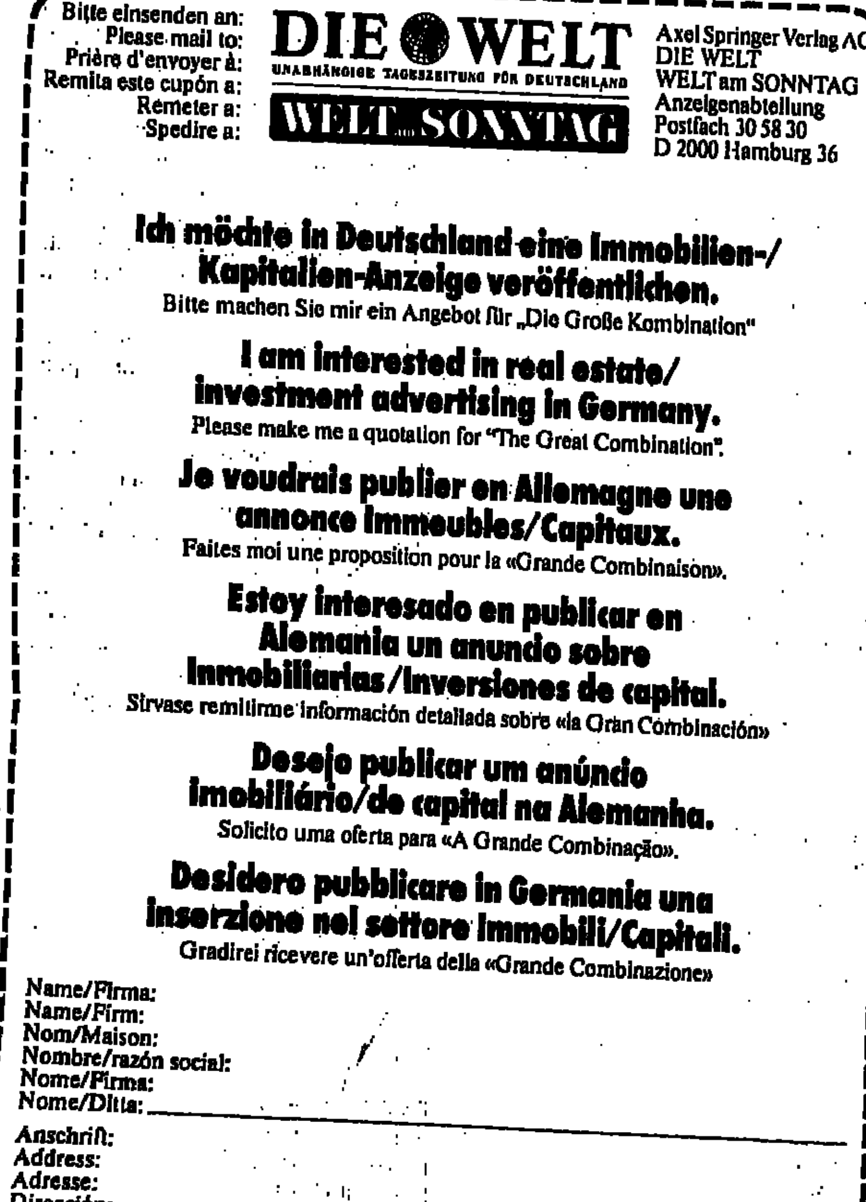
Some participants in the ... ject have already criticised ... call its one-track nature.

A Turkish teacher: "Is Turk... suitable foreign language fo... children as well — one that ... them logical thinking every ... as Latin?"

In any event, the subject ... an integrating effect on all ... it were generally introduced ... kish children would for ... edge."

Bettina Schroe...

(Die Zeit, 30 Sep...)



'Economic disaster' for Germa... if foreigners all went home

When times get tough and unemployment rises, foreigners tend to get the blame. People on the extreme right of the political spectrum are especially quick to get at foreigners.

The belief is that deporting foreigners would solve unemployment. But expert opinion doesn't agree. It paints a very different picture of what would happen if the country were suddenly denuded of its foreign population.

Only a few industries have a high proportion of foreigners — principally catering, engineering and municipal service industries. And there are considerable regional differences.

One man at least believes that an exodus of foreigners would mean economic disaster. He is Karl Ranz, head of the Düsseldorf social affairs department.

He says that if 75 per cent of the foreigners were to leave the city within two to three years, major companies like Mannesmann, where the proportion of foreign workers is up to 43 per cent at times, would have to cut their output. This would lead to layoffs among the office staff.

And the way the Düsseldorf jobless are structured there would be no chance of employing Germans in place of the Turks.

The city would lose an annual DM50m in buying power. Withholding tax losses would amount to DM10.6m.

The figures are based on the assumption that the 36,500 foreign workers gross an average monthly pay of DM2,500.

The social security pensions fund would find itself short DM... — a shortfall that would hur... derably in view of today's ... tage.

The direct consequences of ... dus would be even more se... the indirect ones.

Hospitals and homes for ... would have reduce their car... construction industry, public ... and the electricity supply ... faced with bottlenecks.

Eighteen hundred kinderga... ces would become vacant and ... would find themselves short of ... pupils meaning some 400 ... would lose their jobs, and the... be layoffs among kindergarten...

Housing would also be aff... cause the vacated apartments ... old buildings) that have seen ... investment lavished on them ... main empty. Complete cit... would be deserted.

There are 5,000 Düsseldorf... ing for reasonably priced apa... they took just some of those ... foreigners there would be a ... expensive housing to let and ... investment in new housing.

Many pizzerias and ... round the corner would disa... the catering industry would ... back its services drastically.

Ranz: "The conclusion ... study is that it would be an ... disaster if the foreigners ... watchword should therefore be ... gners stay here'!"

(Allgemeine Zeitung Mainz, 10...)

PASSION PLAY

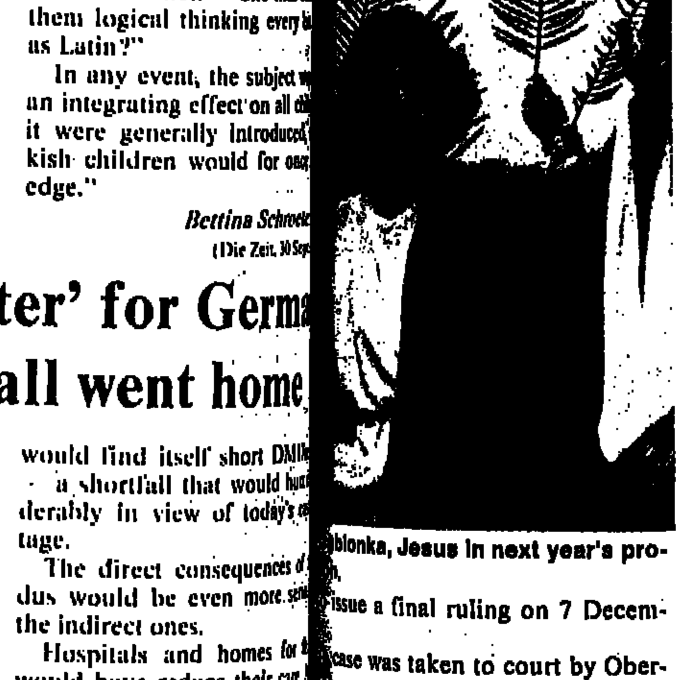
Carpenter takes Nazareth crucifixion case to court

...llagers of the Bavarian alpine village Oberammergau first performed ... Passion play in 1634, a year after a ... had swept through the community. ... been performed at regular intervals ... more than 300 years. Next year, a ... play will commemorate the 350th ... ersary of the first performance. As ... rations grow, a curious off-stage ... is in the making. It involves an old ... that forbids women to take part un... they are under 35 and unmarried.

...varian Constitutional Court jud...es will shortly rule on whether ...n are entitled to take part in the ...mmergau Passion play if they are ...d and over 35.

... time-honoured rule, reaffirmed ...uly 1982 parish council ruling for ...984 Passion play, says women ac... must be spinsters of unblemished ...tion and under 35.

...r two hours of dicussion at their ...hearing the panel of nine judges



...blonka, Jesus in next year's pro...n.

... issue a final ruling on 7 December.

... case was taken to court by Oberammergau carpenter Xaver Seemüller, ... who felt the traditional stipulation ... breach of fundamental civil ...

...ssed in a grey loose jacket typical ...tria and southern Germany and ... by the long beard one has come ...ect of the Passion play villagers, ...üller told the court personally and ...ut legal assistance why he had ... its assistance.

... child, in 1934, he had wanted to ...art in the play. He was allowed to ... his hair long. Then, one day, his ...ed father had shorn his locks.

... parish council had suddenly ... that only children aged at least six ... take part, and Xaver was still a ...ar-old.

... was something he had never for... because the fee earned by chil... who took part 50 years ago was ... than his father earned in a month. ... the passage of time he grew in...ngly convinced of a viewpoint he ... like this:

...henever money is at stake, restric... are imposed on those entitled to ...art, and I don't like it."

... 1976, for instance, the parish ...cil gave the go-ahead for a play ... no restrictions whatever, but only because no fees were to be paid for rehearsals.

As it happened, 7,000 people turned up to take part: for nothing except, perhaps, the greater glory of God.

For the regular Passion play as performed every 10 years there has, however, been an unwritten rule that women may only take part if they are unmarried and under 35 when the season starts.

In bygone days the rule was even stricter. Women had to be virgins.

Women of whatever age were not allowed to vote in the elections to the play committee, a body that is responsible for casting and for all manner of details before and after the play season.

Seemüller went to court before the 1980 season, lodging a constitutional appeal against the disfranchisement of women.

The court that is dealing with his latest appeal was unable to arrive at a judgment on votes for women because, it said, there was no legal provision on which it could base a judgment.

If there had been, the court said, an appeal could well have been allowed.

Oberammergau parish council thereupon decided that women were to be given the vote, subject to the restrictions on taking part in the play.

The Passion play committee, it further ruled, was to have both the parish priest and his Protestant counterpart as co-opted members.

The council's decision was pinned to the parish notice board but it could still not be described as a binding legal requirement.

"It's the same old trick," Seemüller told the court, in which as it happens women are no more represented than they are in Oberammergau parish council.

"Why," he asked the blue-robed justices beneath the Bavarian coat of arms, "when a male pensioner can earn an extra DM8,000 to DM10,000 as an extra in the Passion play season, can a female pensioner not do so?

"Why is it that older women and married women can only work as cloakroom and toilet attendants? Why is the cash the play earns not evenly distributed?" The chief justice was similarly at a loss to account for this state of affairs. Was it, he wondered, simply that the people of Oberammergau felt they were a law unto themselves?

Had they given no thought whatever to the idea of equal rights for women in the Passion play? Or were they still of the opinion that a woman's place was in the home?

Maybe, he suggested, a foundation or the villagers as a whole could be entrusted with responsibility for the Passion play. Perhaps it was time for the parish council to stand down.

Helmut Fischer, the lawyer representing the parish council and the 1970 Jesus, said the idea of entrusting someone else with responsibility had been set aside once and for all in 1929.

All attempts by Oberammergau women to gain election to the parish council had likewise failed. He felt this was a great pity, given that women were an "enlivening element and at times also a brake."

As for the restrictions on taking part that applied to women only, Fischer II (another Oberammergauer of the same name sides with the reformers) argued that they were part of the tradition.

It was, he said, a tradition that had never been called into question by the women themselves. It had also proved necessary.

"In the Passion," he said, "men play the crucial role, whereas the women's role is only a subordinate one."

The Virgin Mary, Mary Magdalene, and Jesus in the 1980 Passion play.

(Photos: dpa)

Why did he not want to see more women taking part? For one, not all 4,800 villagers could take part. The cast already comprised 1,300 adults (including 250 to 300 women who complied with requirements) and 400 children.

Even Turkish children were now allowed to take part, just as refugee children in the village had been allowed to take part in 1950. But the adults had all to be Christians.

During the play season women were increasingly needed at home, he argued. They had to look after thousands of visitors.

Besides, his personal impression was that women over 35 were not particularly interested in taking part in the play as members of the cast.

But where they were urgently needed the council was prepared to make exceptions. Married and older women were allowed to take part in the choir and to make the costumes.

These rules and exceptions had made Herr Seemüller wonder whether the men whose views counted in the village were as pious, God-fearing and honest as they might be.

In 1980 he had declined to take part. Next year he plans to join in as an extra and do his bit for the village like everyone else.

But the vow the village made 350 years ago after an epidemic of plague, he told the court, was being manipulated for reasons of power politics.

So he now hopes to get equal rights for all villagers vindicated in Munich, though he had originally wanted to take his case straight to the Federal Constitutional Court in Karlsruhe.

But, he added, as a Bavarian citizen he preferred to rely on a Bavarian court. This was a sentiment that met with the court's wholehearted approval.

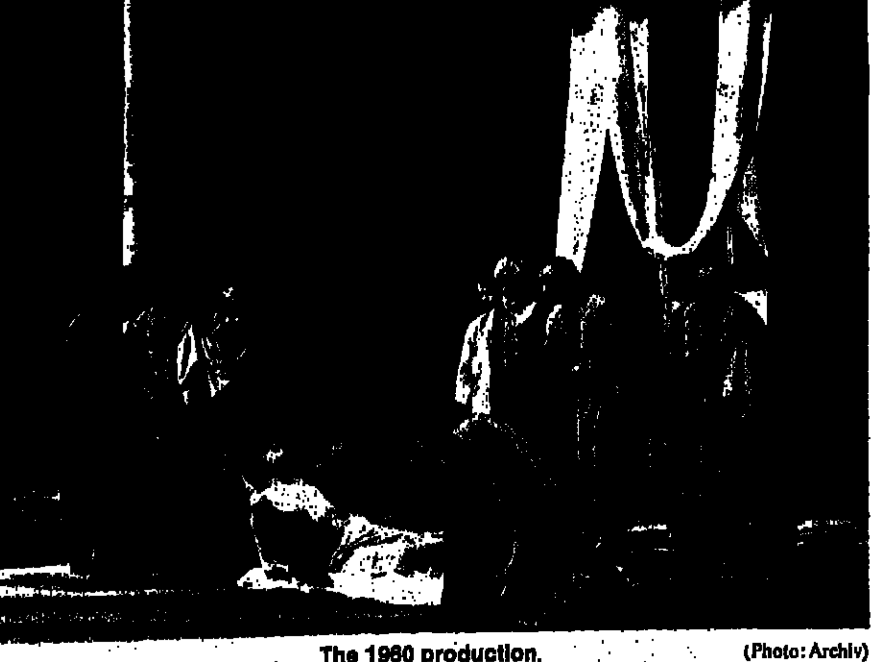
To begin with, Xaver Seemüller only wanted to end discrimination of women in elections to the Passion play committee, but a reference to the further-reaching consequences was promptly taken up by the court.

The nine judges now propose to rule on whether the exclusion of many village women from the cast can be reconciled with constitutional guarantees of equal rights.

It is doubtful whether the court's ruling will come in time to have the slightest effect on the 1984 season. Seats for all performances have already sold out.

Karl Stankiewitz

(Allgemeine Zeitung Mainz, 8 October 1983)



The 1980 production. (Photo: Archiv)